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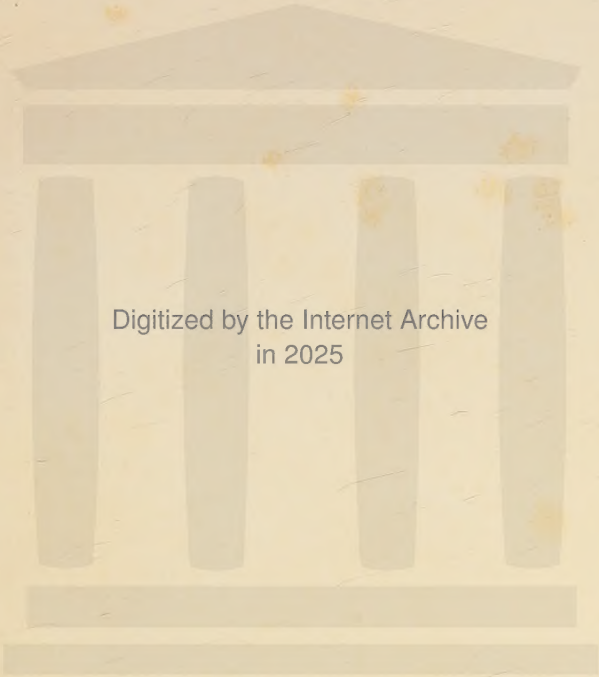
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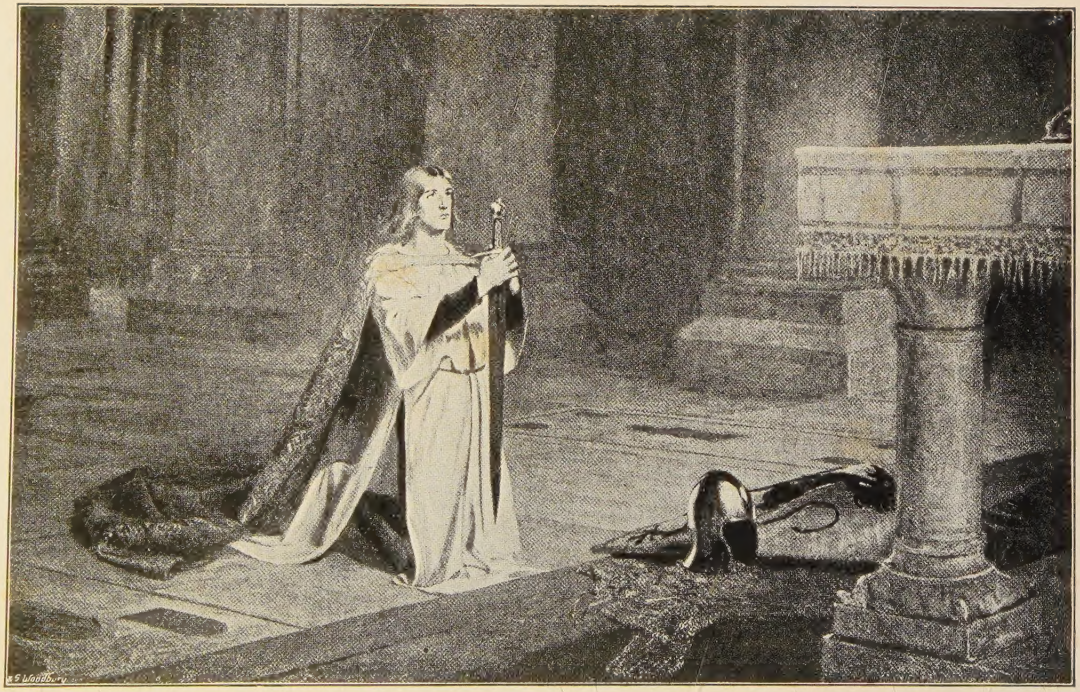

THE VIGIL

From a Painting by John Pettie

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

RALPH PHILIP BOAS

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AND

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TO
SARAH BOAS

PREFACE

THIS book aims to present to students sufficient information to make clear the life and thought which have produced the literature of England. The needs of students in American schools and colleges have governed the choice of material and the method of treatment. The authors have reduced to a minimum the facts which are readily available in political histories and in manuals of English literature, and have given chief attention to the way in which people lived, and to the spirit and temper of the various literary periods.

The authors realize that, in dealing with the great accumulation of data, they have made many interpretations from which other students of the history of English literature may differ. Such differences of opinion are, however, inevitable, and should be viewed charitably.

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The authors gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to Louise Schutz Boas for her constant and vigilant assistance; and to Belle Boas, Director of Art in the Horace Mann School of New York, for the eight original plates of English costume which she prepared specially for this book.

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SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

I

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUNDS

The British Isles were not always severed from the mainland. The shallow seas that surround them might with a slighter degree of depression be a wide shelving plain, running down from rolling uplands to swampy fens. It is natural, therefore, that the topography of England should be like that of the mainland at the point where the islands once formed a widely thrusting peninsula. The country near the mouth of the rivers is marshy, and was once thickly wooded like the shores of the North Sea. Upon the coast of these islands often hangs a dense bank of fog, again like that which penetrates Jutland. Over the British Isles sweep the same prevailing southeasterly breezes, with the difference that in the islands there are banks of hills along the westerly side, which cause the moisture-laden winds to drop their rain. The release of the moisture also releases warmth, thus giving England a warmer climate than that enjoyed by any of the neighboring countries. Because of this rain, fog, and warmth, Britain has a greener verdure, a more luxuriant foliage than that of most of Europe.

These factors have in turn influenced English history. They have to a certain degree rendered the country independent for her food supply. They have ameliorated the struggle for existence by giving her a climate with little variation and no extremes of temperature.

Geographically England is divided into the Great Plain, the Weald, the Fens, the southeast section of slightly rolling Downs broken by gently rounded hills, the Pennine Chain, the upland Moors of the southwest, the Lake District of the northwest, the hills of Wales to the extreme west, and the rough Cornish lands to the southwest.

The southeast section of England, comprising nearly two-thirds of the island, was the earliest part settled by man. It is fertile land, still devoted in the main to farming. The almost level surface was unwooded and presented no difficulty to the problem of clearing. The climate, as well as the physical aspects, was inviting.

To the west and south of this fertile land lies the Great Plain of England. Skirting this are the great coal-fields; in the Plain itself to-day lies the most thickly populated and the richest of all English districts, with the exception of that immediately contiguous to London. In early times it offered rather a difficult problem to the settler. Its soil was not so fertile as that of the southeast, neither was it so immediately accessible by sea. The rather sharply defined hills that fence it off from the rest of the country give it an isolation and independence characteristic of most of the other geographical divisions of Britain.

Another region even more shut off from the rest of the island is the Fens, that tract of low country at the mouth of five small rivers which empty into a silty, shallow bay called the Wash. The extremely gradual slope, down which these rivers wind the last few miles of their courses, made complete drainage without mechanical assistance impossible. The Romans are reputed to have thrown up a sea wall along the Wash, to prevent the ocean from making further inroads upon

the shore line; but not until the seventeenth century was any serious attempt made at successful drainage. The tiny islands, surrounded by boggy swamps and sluggish, green-scummed streams, formed an unhealthful environment, which many people nevertheless braved for the sake of the abundant food-supply. Wild fowl in great profusion and variety abounded there. Fish in quantities long since forgotten swarmed those idly moving streams. Monks, whose habit of life made an abundant and easily procured food-supply an important consideration in the choice of a monastery site, settled the banks of these streams in great numbers. Nowhere in England are there so many and so beautiful churches to be found as in the Fens. Ely and Peterborough cathedrals both stand in this marshy area. In ancient times the inhabitants were said to travel about on stilts in their journeys from island to island. Later they used jumping-poles for the same purpose. They were thought to be a dour, stern people, pessimistic and unfriendly. They used a dialect of their own which, somewhat modified, can be found in Tennyson's "Northern Farmer." From these people the larger part of Oliver Cromwell's army was recruited. The traditions of the Fens and its history, from the time of the Danish incursions — when it offered to the invaders the easiest opening — through the resistance made to William the Conqueror, to the nineteenth century, are found in the works of Charles Kingsley, particularly in *Hereward the Wake.*

The "Weald" was the name given to the great forest which — roughly speaking — formed a blunt triangle with its base along the southern coast from Eastbourne to Folkestone, and which extended north in an ever narrowing point as far as Petersfield. In early Britain

there were many thick, well-nigh impenetrable forests; but the Weald seems to have been the most dense, the largest, and the last to be brought under control. In such luxuriance of growth that daylight was all but obscured, any elf or goblin might feel safe. Many centuries passed before man felt quite at ease in a forest which by many hundreds of years antedated his own time. Other forests, once perhaps related to the Weald, are Sherwood, where Robin Hood's gay outlaws roamed; Arden, that threw a grateful shade over the courtship of Rosalind and Orlando; Epping Wood, famous as a resort; Selkirk Forest, and many others familiar to us in legend and history. These, with their secretive air of aloofness, helped in their turn to shape the national mood and the national literature.

The Pennine Chain which, through its similarity in name to the mountainous backbone of Italy, has led antiquarians to speculate about a possible relationship between the inhabitants of Britain and Italy, atones by its mineral wealth for the agricultural poverty of the region.

The Moors are often overgrown peat-fields. Their cultivation is difficult and without reward; but game, wild fowl, and herds of sheep flourish in such areas. The people are sturdy and frugal, but inclined to gloom. They are, in the nature of things, not travelers. They live to themselves, and die to themselves, holding little communication with the outside world.

The Lake District in the northwest furnishes the closest approach to grandeur in English scenery. Though the hills are not very high, they are steep, and they rise often from the brink of a small lake with a heavily wooded, deeply indented shore-line. The topography of this country is an interesting contrast with

AN ENGLISH LANDSCAPE NEAR NORWICH

From a Painting by George Vincent in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

other portions of the island. The climate also is varied, though not subject to sudden changes; a season marked by excessive rainfall may be succeeded by delightfully mild and pleasant weather. In this district the poet Wordsworth lived, worked, and speculated upon the riddle of life.

In the southwest of England, in Cornwall, lived good King Arthur, the legendary figure about whom much of English folklore hovers. The mountainous country, with its jagged hills, steep cliffs, and isolated towns, formed a hardy background for the early Celts.

Wales — really the home of the Celts — presents a hilly, forbidding aspect with its mysterious, heavy peaks, its winding, sharply falling waters, its thick and silent woods. Technically it is part of the same island as England, but actually so completely shut off by its mountains, that it has usually been considered a separate unit. Years after England was settled, with an orderly civilization, Wales remained a country of savage, warlike people, withdrawn and remote. The wealth of the country lies in its mineral resources.

Scotland, with a configuration similar to that of Wales, has presented a similar problem. Scotland is divided into two parts, the Lowlands and the Highlands. The Lowlands — that portion of Scotland lying nearest England — have naturally been closely allied to England in language, customs, and habits of mind. The Highlands, on the other hand, have always been inhabited by a race alien to the English. The people are of Celtic stock, and until recent times spoke a Celtic language called Gaelic, similar to that of the Irish and the Welsh. They have been hunters and herdsmen rather than farmers, because farming land is scarce and poor. The Scotch were a turbulent people, proud, aloof, and

belligerent, wresting a scanty living from untoward conditions by the force of their character and by their persistence. They were not so richly dowered with imagination as the Welsh, and were rather more prone to dark and gloomy thoughts.

Students should try at once to grasp the fact that England is of comparatively small area — only a little larger than the State of Pennsylvania. A man may travel by rail with reasonable ease from the north of Scotland to Land's End at the extreme tip of the Cornwall peninsula in a day. England lacks both the extent and the startling contrasts of America; but it was thought by the ancients — and, indeed, by most modern people whose sole conception of the island is not gained from a short stay in London — to have the most moderate and pleasing climate of any country in the North Temperate zone. The fogs of which the casual visitor complains do not occur inland with the frequency with which they occur in London. The compactness of the country gives it a unity difficult to achieve in a larger country with the same geographical barriers. The forbidding chalk-cliffs that line the southern and western shores are not true indications either of the geography or of the temper of the people. Independent and strategically placed England may be; but in the last centuries, instead of remaining aloof, she has had a greater share in moulding the history of the rest of the world than any other one nation.

Until the last century England has been an agricultural and wool-raising country. Only within the last hundred and fifty years has the advance of science made England able to utilize to their fullest extent her great stores of mineral wealth and to become one of the foremost industrial countries of the world.

American students must expect to find references in English literature to many things with which they are unfamiliar. English poets write about the robin, which is a thrush and not an American robin; about the skylark, the nightingale, rooks, and ravens. The English daisy is not the American daisy; the oak, hawthorne, and holly are met instead of the maple and pine. Hazel copses, broom, heather, and gorse must be carefully visualized, for these are constantly present in English prose and poetry.

Perhaps the hardest thing for Americans to realize is that land in England has always been scarce, that few uncultivated tracts have ever been had for the taking, and that, consequently, land-ownership has been difficult of attainment and therefore so highly prized that there has grown up a strong sentiment regarding the land itself. Certain families and even whole communities have come to look upon the abandonment of farming or the selling of land as a species of disloyalty. In addition there have always been attached to the privilege of owning land other prerogatives not directly derived from the property, but rather social prerogatives felt to be in keeping with the dignity of landholding. Some such feeling explains the English attitude of deference to the "landed gentry" and "county families."

For this richly varied countryside, so different from anything people on this side of the Atlantic know, English poets have cherished a great love; of it they have written in all its diverse phases; to it they have returned from foreign travel with a great and comforting sense of satisfaction; for it, in the most favored corners of the world they have yearned with homesick hearts; over their imaginations it has exerted the

strongest of all spells to which their race is subject — except always the tradition of freedom. In Florence, whither many an Englishman travels to escape British winters, where spring comes more obviously, more suddenly, and with a force that amounts to an onslaught, Robert Browning turned homesick for those commonplace details of freshness and new growth that meant to him an English spring:

> Oh, to be in England
> Now that April's there,
> And whoever wakes in England
> Sees, some morning, unaware,
> That the lowest boughs and the brushwood sheaf
> Round the elm-tree bole are in tiny leaf,
> While the chaffinch sings on the orchard bough
> In England — now!
>
> And after April, when May follows,
> And the whitethroat builds, and all the swallows!
> Hark! where my blossomed pear-tree in the hedge
> Leans to the field and scatters on the clover
> Blossoms and dewdrops — at the bent spray's edge —
> That's the wise thrush; he sings each song twice over,
> Lest you should think he never could recapture
> The first fine careless rapture!
> And though the fields look rough with hoary dew,
> All will be gay when noontide wakes anew
> The buttercups, the little children's dower
> — Far brighter than this gaudy melon-flower!

II

THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD

At the beginning of the early centuries of the Christian era there lived in the woods of northern Germany, and along the marshy shores of the North Sea and the Baltic, tribes who called themselves Angles, Jutes, and Saxons. They were a hardy, powerful, determined race, fiercely devoted to their chieftains and their families, impatient of government, unaware of the existence of neighbors except as enemies to repel or to plunder, and uninterested in what we now call culture, or the arts of civilization. The all-conquering Roman Empire far to the south meant little to them, for the Roman legions had made no headway into the German forests. Now and then bands of these men, roaming the seas in their swift, shallow boats in search of unprotected settlements to harry, had fallen foul of Roman coastguards and had learned respect for Roman power. They probably had met Roman traders with Roman goods, for in their language were words of Roman origin, like *street* and *wine*. But in the main they were a primitive, half-barbaric people, dwelling in a dark, swampy, rainy country, where the woods grew to the water's edge, and where life was a bitter struggle for existence.

In the fourth and fifth centuries there was great disturbance all about the frontiers of the Roman empire. Everywhere bands of barbarian tribes were moving toward the Roman wealth, ease, and civilization. The

Costumes of the Anglo-Saxon Period

tribes of northern Germany were as restless as the others and from time to time harried the coasts of the British Isles. Here was a country which, though much like their own, had been carefully developed for four centuries. As early as A.D. 43, Britain had been organized as a Roman province. The native Britons, a race whose descendants are easily recognized to-day in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, adopted Roman ways, and under the leadership of Roman conquerors and colonists cultivated thriving farms, mined copper and tin, built well-fortified towns, and laid out roads which still remain. But as the Roman power weakened, legions were withdrawn from the country, and the Britons were left to fight alone the barbarians who swarmed upon their prosperous country from the savage Celtic highlands of Scotland and Wales, and from the dark, marshy lands across the sea.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons came in ever increasing numbers, in small bands, each with its own chieftain. They ran their shallow boats up the British rivers and estuaries, swept down upon the British farmers and villagers, and killed them, drove them out, or enslaved them. Cities and towns they avoided, and as time went on, these places — cut off from the rest of the country — fell into ruin.

It is from this period of slow conquest that there arose the tales of King Arthur, half-mythical defender of Christian Celts against heathen Saxons. With this vague foundation in fact, his figure later dominated English legend, to become eventually the pattern of knightly virtue for the English race against which he was said to have fought: a race of curious power and extraordinary contradictions. They were a warlike people, fighting for love of brute dominance, perhaps for the vanity

readily satisfied by successful physical exertion. To the pleasures of the table they were never indifferent. Their early literature teems with references to orgies of eating and drinking in quantities that stagger the least temperate of modern imaginations. They had little interest in art. Whatever love of beauty the English possess to-day is the result of long association with the races of southern Europe who had mental and physical leisure sufficient, in their environment, to produce artistic magnificence. The Saxons for many centuries quite definitely preferred crudity and lack of comfort to the effort necessary to produce refinement and comfortable well-being. Nor were they a voluptuous people. In general they regarded women as mysterious, magical beings. This early attitude foreshadows that later woman-worship which reached its height in the days of chivalry.

They were, also, a gloomy, moody people, much given to dour musing upon the ironies of life. Early in their career they dimly felt that there was much unexplained about the universe, much unaccounted for by ancient mythology. The fear and doubt attendant upon these reflections gave way gradually to love and worship of the inexplicable and the mysterious, and gave point and definition to the dawning of a characteristic never since entirely divorced from the race — that of idealism: the ability to perceive beyond the common realities of life a vision of perfection. This ready acceptance of the mysterious, this natural inclination toward idealism, explains in a measure the ease with which Augustine in the sixth century converted whole clans to Christianity. Something hitherto unsatisfied in their meagre pagan rites found fulfillment in a faith that frankly capitalized mystery, that demanded acquiescence, and that condemned with simple finality all doubts and fears.

Nowhere is this ready acceptance of Christian teachings more vividly shown than in the account of the conversion of King Edwin of Northumbria: —

> Another of the king's councilors spoke thus: "King, this earthly life of ours seems to me, when compared with the time of which we are ignorant, as if we were sitting at a feast with your councilors and chieftains in the winter, and the fire were burning and the hall cheerfully heated, while outside it rained, it snowed, and the wind raged; and as if then there came a sparrow and swiftly flew through the hall, coming in through one door and going out the other. While he is within the hall he is not buffeted by the wintry storm; but in the twinkling of an eye his respite is ended, and from the winter he goes into the winter again.
>
> So the life of man appears for a little time; what went before, and what comes after, we know not. If, therefore, this new teaching brings us anything more certain and more valuable, it seems to me that we ought to follow it."

The most dominant trait of the Anglo-Saxons, and the one to which their descendants have attached most importance, was their fierce love of individual freedom. A large share of English history could be written in terms of the progress of the struggle for freedom for the individual. It is interesting to realize that this strong, underlying trait had its birth in the determination of generations of invaders to be classed as the conquerors, not the conquered. Never in early times did this quality have an altruistic aspect; the love of personal liberty did not for many centuries extend beyond the insistence of each man that he get all he possibly could for himself.

As with all primitive peoples, the language of these invaders was a direct outgrowth of their needs. It possessed the great force requisite to express battles of supreme cruelty; the directness and simplicity that

fitted it to deal with a simple daily life, and the grandeur necessary to chant of almost uncharted intellectual and emotional experiences. From this tongue are derived many words of our modern speech, particularly those associated with everyday living. Later influences have been unable to oust these homely, simple terms. Upon close inspection it will be found that the words most rich in connotation in English poetry are those which were current in this period of the history of the race. *Mother*, *father*, *home*, *love*, *daughter*, *son*, *house*, *sea*, *ship*, and scores of simple words which are the foundation of common speech, were used by the Anglo-Saxons. This language, most closely kin to the oldest Dutch dialects, less closely to the North German dialects, reached — with the passage of years — a form which permitted the growth of a large and varied literature.

But even before the English had left their homes on the Continent, their poets had put into stirring verse tales of their national heroes. Wandering gleemen, tellers of tales to the warriors at the feasting and merriment which ended a day of fighting, recited these stories for several hundred years, adding, omitting, exaggerating, and inventing as their fancy dictated, so that we have no accurate knowledge of the original forms of any of these narratives. In this respect the Anglo-Saxon was no more ignorant of the beginnings of his literature than the Greek, whose epics were developed in approximately the same fashion. The background for most of these hero-tales is the sea — that element which the race feared most wholesomely, yet learned to tame and to love. In this group *Beowulf* is the most important poem. More significant than its historical value, or the possibilities of its allegorical interpretation, is the reflection

of those traits most dear to the Anglo-Saxons — the great-hearted heroism of Beowulf; the unmixed grief of his followers, who forgot all other losses in that of their leader; the idealism that saw in his memorial by the sea-cliffs a safe guide for every homing mariner; the admiration for that unwavering courage that enables a brave man to go silently and unafraid to his death.

The Seafarer, another poem that belongs to the group of hero-tales, is a subtle balancing of the hardships of following the sea against the restless yearning and uneasy desire that devours sea-going men when they are forced to remain ashore. The latter part of this poem — possibly added later by a scrupulously didactic monk — is an allegory, comparing man's life to a voyage on the ocean. There is, also, a fragmentary story of hostages at the court of Attila, called *Waldere*. Its chief importance is the proof thus afforded that the Saxons enjoyed considerable familiarity with Teutonic legend and poetry, inasmuch as this same story occurs in the *Nibelungenlied*, the great mediæval German epic.

These poems show a race of hardy fighters and adventurers, living in clans under the rule of a chief chosen for his wisdom, power, and fatherly interest in his folk. Loyalty, generosity, and strength in arms, honest speaking and clean living, respect for the honor and dignity of women — these are the chief ideas in the poems. Unhappy is the outlaw, the chiefless man: he must wander about friendless, every man's hand against him. Accursed is the coward who returns from the fight where his chieftain was killed. Better for him that he had died on the field of battle, as the companions of Harold, the last Saxon king, died in a ring about their master on the field of Senlac.

About these poems is the gloom of great unknown

spaces beyond the settlements, where monsters lurk: strong, cruel, unhuman creatures who devour men. In the darkness of thick woods are nameless dangers; in the inky night about the great hall of the king prowl strange enemies, bitterly envious of all that is bright and friendly and human — the warmth and the singing, the friendship of king and warrior, the feasting and the joy.

After approximately four hundred years Anglo-Saxon rule was firmly established in England. We find four chief kingdoms: Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and the kingdom of the East and West Saxons. In these kingdoms four distinct classes were recognized: the priests, first of the old Teutonic heathenism, and later of Christianity; the ruling class, composed of the chieftains — or their descendants — under whose guidance the people had come to England, the leaders of victorious warfare and the heads of clans; the farmers, upon whose industry and crude skill the whole kingdom depended; and, lastly, the farm laborers, often Celts, who sometimes were freemen of mean circumstances, and frequently were slaves of the man who held the land upon which they worked.

The common life of the English, as they came to call themselves, is well shown in an Old English Dialogue: —[1]

Says the plowman: "I work hard; I go out at daybreak, driving the oxen to the field, and I yoke them to the plow. Be it never so stark winter, I dare not linger at home for awe of my lord; but having yoked my oxen, and fastened share and coulter, every day I must plow a full acre or more. I have a boy driving the oxen with a goad-iron, who is hoarse with cold and shouting. . . . I have to fill the oxen's bins with hay, and water them, and take out their litter. . . . Mighty hard work it is, for I am not free."

[1] Traill, H. D., *Social England*, vol. 1.

The shepherd says: "In the first of the morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and stand over them, in heat and in cold, with my dogs, lest the wolves swallow them up; and I lead them back to their folds, and milk them twice a day . . . . and I make cheese and butter, and I am true to my lord." . . .

The king's hunter says: "I braid me nets, and set them in fit places, and set my hounds to follow the wild game, till they come unsuspecting to the net and are caught therein. . . . With swift hounds I hunt down wild game. I take harts and boars, and bucks, and roes, and sometimes hares. I give the king what I take, because I am his hunter. He clothes me well, and feeds me, and sometimes gives me a horse or an arm-ring that I may pursue my craft the more merrily."

The fisher (a freeman), who gets victuals and clothes and money by his craft, says: "I go on board my boat and cast my net into the river, and cast my angle and baits, and what they catch I take. . . . The citizens buy my fish. I cannot catch as many as I could sell: eels and pike, minnows and eel-pout, trout and lampreys."

The fowler witnesses: "In many ways I trick the birds — sometimes with nets, with gins, with lime, with whistling, with a hawk, with traps." His hawks "feed themselves and me in winter, and in Lent I let them fly off to the woods; and I catch me young birds in harvest, and tame them. But many feed the tame ones the summer over, that they may have them ready again."

The merchant says: "I go aboard my ship with my goods, and go over sea and sell my things, and buy precious things which are not produced in this country, and bring home to you . . . . pall (brocade) and silk, precious gems and gold, various raiment and dyestuffs, wine and oil, ivory and mastling (brass-stone), copper and tin, sulphur and glass, and the like."

By the ninth century the English had begun to feel the beginnings of a national life. In 830 Egbert, king of the West Saxons, claimed overlordship of all England, a claim never afterward surrendered by the royal family of the kingdom. Though by this claim the actual union of

the English was slight, yet it was the foundation of a later national consciousness and an ultimately strong federation of petty States.

At this time, too, there arose the beginnings of education and literature. The centres of early English learning were the monasteries, particularly those in Northumbria. These monasteries carried on, to some degree, the traditions of Christian education: the monks copied manuscripts, wrote down and revised old stories, and taught a few people to read and write.

To this Northumbrian school of literature belong Caedmon, Bede, and Cynewulf. To the first of these writers — a humble monk, upon whom was bestowed miraculously the gift of poetic creation — is attributed the *Paraphrase*, a rhymed version of the narrative portions of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel*.

From Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* — written in Latin — comes all the accurate knowledge we have of the interval between the Roman conquest and the reign of Alfred. That the history contains many marvelous tales of the deeds of holy men is not strange. Such men, coming to work at the monasteries among a rough people without hope of reward, naturally stirred their beneficiaries' imaginations and emotions. But the miracles attributed to the missionaries do not invalidate the historical worth of the narrative. Every detail, so far as he was able, Bede sought to corroborate. Never did a fellow worker make a pilgrimage to Rome without being charged with endless missions — such as the seeking out of obscure documents, or the obtaining of interviews with men who could confirm or deny the truth of points of historical nicety. Considering the handicaps under which he labored, Bede achieved a document of amazing accuracy.

The last of these three, Cynewulf, ranks next to the unknown author of *Beowulf* as a poet. Several poems, such as the *Phoenix*, are ascribed to him; but of those which he signed in crude, runic riddles, the *Christ* particularly interests the student of the period. No other work has left us so vivid a presentation of early Christianity in Britain. Its ideas are crudely naïve and literal, especially the passages that picture the satisfying torments of the damned and the unimaginative bliss of the elect; yet there are other passages of real beauty and hymns of compelling melody. The poem is made up of fragments closely following the sermons of Gregory the Great, — the Pope of the period, — portions of Church liturgy, and Biblical narratives neatly interwoven, and the whole is pervaded by real love of the personal Christ and delicate awe of the Virgin Mary.

Unfortunately, these beginnings of a school of literature, powerful enough to have shaped intellectual interests for many centuries, were destroyed by the invasion of a new enemy, the Danes. At this period the coasts of France and Spain as well as that of England suffered from invasions of Vikings or Northmen, who sallied forth from the shores of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in small skiffs, each carrying about forty men. They would sweep silently up a river, appear at some totally unsuspected point, lay waste the land, ravage and pillage the unprotected township, torture and murder the inhabitants, and then — by the light of flames they had kindled for love of wanton destruction — launch their ships again and slip back down the river.

It was impossible, because of the nature of their ships, to tell at what point to expect the Danes. For this reason the English made small headway in driving them off; and the second stage of their designs upon the

island was quickly reached. Soon they came to wage warfare over a wide sweep of countryside, several shiploads uniting in a common drive. A little later, large bands made their headquarters in several parts of the country, depending entirely upon pillage for their sustenance, and making no pretence of returning to their native haunts. It was by such bands as these that the northern monasteries were destroyed. For the Danes, being heathen, respected neither the houses nor the persons of those engaged in religious work.

The third and last stage of the forays resulted in settlements by the intruders. Those who had once loved to join in countrywide depredations gradually found their energy burned out, and settled down as farmers in those parts of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria where previously they had garrisoned their foraging armies. Already the English population, greatly reduced, was in these parts entirely under the rule of the Danish overlords. From time to time new settlers came from the Scandinavian peninsula, while malcontents, whom nothing less than battle, murder, and sudden death could satisfy, moved on toward the Continent, where were more fertile sources of excitement. The extent of this invasion can be gauged now chiefly by the names of surviving towns with terminations in *ly* and *thorpe* — common Danish syllables.

In spite of Egbert's claim to overlordship of all the English, the West Saxon kings were at last obliged to admit that the whole of the north and east of Britain was beyond their jurisdiction and control. At last, under Alfred, the Saxon boundaries were definitely fixed. And because the terms of this contract were settled by Danish law the land granted the newcomers came, in time, to be called the "Danelaw."

Under the Danes commerce and trade throve steadily. New towns grew up, and old towns, seemingly dead since the withdrawal of the Roman legions, took on new life. Seaport towns sprang up as by magic, and even London, with a great influx of Danish population, felt a renewal of its old trade-interests. Gradually in the communities where the Danes settled, the small Christian element made itself felt. From the ways of boisterous, ravening heathen the Danes fell into the habit of peaceful pursuits; and when there arose difficulties between them and the Saxon kings, the ensuing wars were neither lightly entered upon, nor in the nature of plundering raids.

Most of the credit for turning back the Danes and limiting them to the Danelaw is due to Alfred, king of the West Saxons and grandson of Egbert. Because of the beauty and nobility of his character he has been reverenced by all the generations that have succeeded him. There can be no doubt of his wisdom, justice, courage, and high integrity. As a youth he was frail, but he overcame his infirmity and gave unsparingly of his strength and health to his people. Before he came into the kingship he had been taken to Rome twice to make the acquaintance of the Pope and other notables.

Always his chief interests were intellectual. To this quality of his we owe the reëstablishment of literature and education. At Winchester, the capital of his kingdom, he founded a centre of culture. As a proof of his own intense interest in its success, he himself wrote several prose works in Saxon. At his court there was an opportunity for ambitious nobles to learn to read and write. With a pride of language that has ever since been the boast of his descendants, Alfred insisted that

important works be written in Saxon rather than Latin. Through his enthusiasm for recapturing any of the lost culture of the North, fragments of Northumbrian manuscripts were brought to Winchester and copied by him and his scholars into the dialect of his own kingdom. But for this tireless devotion, we should have lost all that remains of the Northumbrian literature.

No account of Alfred's efforts as a scholar is complete without reference to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which he enlarged, and to which he himself — in the account of his own times — gave a tremendous interest and vigor of style. In its previous form it had been a scanty, uninteresting procession of births and deaths among the West Saxons. From this point to its close in the twelfth century it becomes a valuable document, at times infused with lively poetry, and standing always as a signpost to the gradual development of the mother tongue. Two poems which appear in the *Chronicle*, "The Battle of Brunanburh" and "The Battle of Maldon," show the vigor, fire, and energy of the Old English poetry.

After the reign of Alfred, disorder and invasion slowly changed to peace. The Danes became gradually fused with the English in speech and manners. The heroes of an age of conquest were only dimly remembered; the court, the church, the monastery, the school, the farm, and the market town became the centres of English life. Even later Danish incursions proved to be organized occupations rather than the fierce harryings of free-booting days. There grew up, with Ælfric as the chief figure, a prose literature of religious instruction, of sermons, and of education.

As the active, adventurous spirit of the Anglo-Saxons died, so died their literature. With the disappearance of great enterprises and ambitions, the need and the pleas-

ure of self-expression disappeared. Small farmers lived and died on small farms; small merchants trafficked in a few articles of trade in small towns; and small kingdoms bred disputes and bickerings, until one last invasion brought to England new blood and new ideas.

III

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

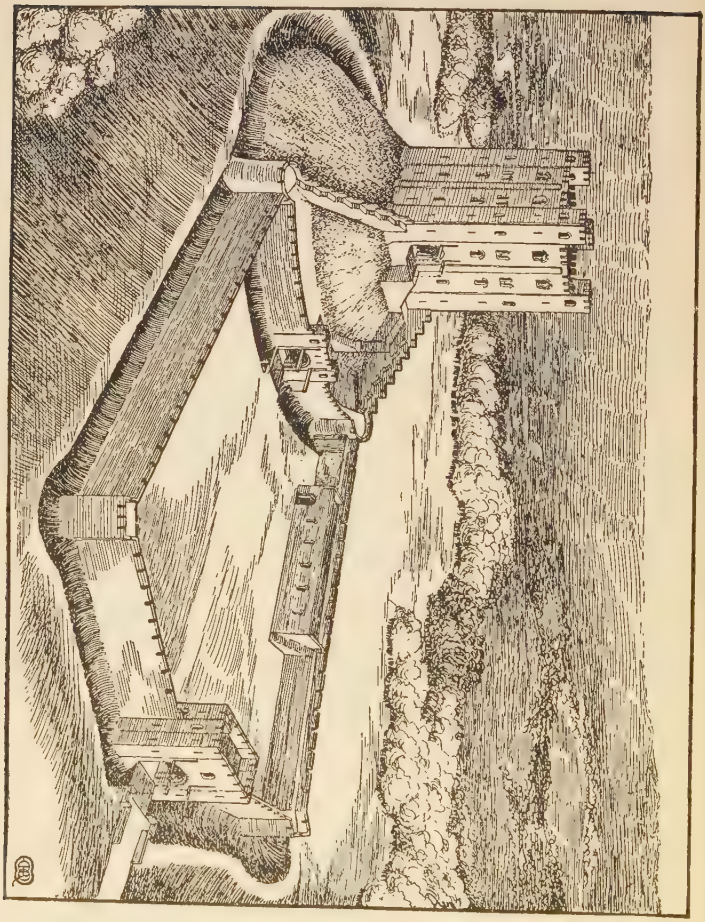
While the Danes were conquering northern England, their kinsmen, whom we know as Northmen or Normans, were conquering northern France. Here they found a country which for centuries had been in a high state of civilization, a country where Celtic vivacity and Roman organization were tempered by the strength and solidity of the Franks. Although the Scandinavian intruders gave their name—Normandy—to the country which they settled, instead of holding the conquered territory to their ways they were rapidly absorbed into the native population. So rapid were their assimilation and progress that in less than a hundred years they were known as the most cultivated race in Europe. They developed a genius for government and for warfare; they were alert, courageous, resourceful, ruthless in securing what they wanted, and tenacious in holding what they had secured.

In 1066 a Norman army led by Duke William, afterward known as the Conqueror, defeated a Saxon army under Harold, the last Saxon king, at Senlac, in what is known as the Battle of Hastings. Within a few years William made himself master of all England. He crushed rebellion, settled hundreds of his Norman followers on Saxon estates, centralized the government in his own hands, introduced Norman-French as the State language, built castles to keep the country in order, and firmly established his family upon the English throne.

The Norman conquest was of immense importance to England. The country, never strongly united, had been on the point of breaking into several half-independent divisions. The power of William now gave England a strong central government. In the second place, the Norman conquest brought England into close contact with the Continent. Had it not been for the Conquest, England might have become a neglected and half-known country, distantly removed from European civilization. Lastly, the Normans brought to England new blood, new ideas, new ways of looking at life. They added to English seriousness and sluggishness Norman force, vigor, wit, energy, and organizing power.

Their passion for organization is most fully and perfectly expressed in their system of landholding, called feudalism, from the name, *feud* or *fief*, given to the land which a man held. The system was designed not only to afford a method of apportioning lands to responsible nobles, but also to serve as a means of holding powerful or aggressive nobles in check. Theoretically only the king could build a fortified castle; but actually many of the castles owned by the king were loaned to especially favored men. Other influential lords readily gained permission to fortify their homes upon the occasion of real or fancied danger. Later, under weak kings, still others built castles and fortified them as they saw fit, without seeking permission.

In return for the use of land (fiefs) a noble was obliged to promise loyalty, or fealty, as it was called, and to do homage — that is, to swear his dependence upon his king, and, placing his hands in those of his sovereign, to pledge his person to the royal service. These promises were not all that fief-holding involved. To his king the noble owed money and military support. Eventually



A Norman Castle

an exact ratio was established between the amount of land held and the consequent number of men pledged to service; for instance, at one time in England six hundred acres constituted a knight's fief, the holding of which required the service of one knight for forty days a year. Common soldiers' service was demanded for smaller tracts of land.

Not only nobles held land in grants from the king, but churchmen as well, a fact that gave many a king an unquestioned hold over the Church, and made him its actual head.

Powerful nobles often held several castles with vast quantities of land. In such cases the noble went through with his dependents a process similar to the one his sovereign had conducted with him. These dependents or tenants owed him, in return for the use of his land, stipulated services. The tenants might — and often did — repeat the process of farming out land with subtenants of their own. This system, carried out in detail, permeated all classes of society and constituted an interrelationship of no small importance.

Feudalism was, then, a system whereby no land was owned outright except by the Crown. Under this system all classes of society were bound together with common interests, inasmuch as the lowest class was dependent for its safety, comfort, and well-being upon its immediate superiors, and they in turn upon the next higher class, on up to the great nobles themselves. It was a system that tended finally to weaken the central government, since it delegated tremendous power to a few peers. This power later led to civil wars, through attempts made by certain nobles to direct the succession of the crown. It influenced the form of society to our own time, by establishing a small group who enjoyed

privileges denied other classes, and by fostering on the part of those low in the social scale a distinct feeling of inferiority, dependence, and responsibility toward their superiors. It inculcated extreme shortsightedness upon the part of these vassals. They were accustomed to do the bidding of another unquestioningly; they knew from bitter experience that they could never in the morning foretell where their lord's pleasure might take them before night. They learned, therefore, to pay little attention to any but the group immediately above them, to whom they were personally responsible and to whom had been confided the direction of their destiny.

Quite as important as feudalism, and really dependent upon it for many of its characteristics, was the institution known as chivalry. The ideals of chivalry made properly trained individuals of the upper classes treat one another with consideration, reverence to the point of worship all women of their own class, acknowledge the service of the Church, and swear undying allegiance to their king. Chivalry was a system of society affecting only the gently bred, but demanding from them almost lifelong service.

A Mounted Norman Knight

The youth at the age of seven was sent to the castle of a baron, who had room for pages and sufficient equipment to train them later in all branches of courtesy and warfare. For seven years the boy was the constant

companion of the ladies of the household, one of whom devoted herself especially to him and taught him to sing, to compose songs of his own, to play the harp, to conduct himself in every way in accordance with polite usage and the rules of gallantry. In this early companionship were laid the foundations for the devotion later to some one woman who was to dominate his whole life. While still a child, he was taught that he must never resent by word or act any neglect, rebuff, or cruelty on the part of the lady who had made him her especial charge.

At fourteen he took up the business of a squire, and his days of soft and easy living were over. He learned to bear physical hardship of all kinds: wounds, bivouacking in all weathers, loss of sleep and food while on the march, and the constant burden of sheet- or chain-mail. He was during these years his lord's devoted servant, accompanying him to war or to the lists, carrying his weapons, and doing his errands. Always he was looking forward to the time of his knighthood.

A youth was required to be twenty-one before the title of knight could be conferred upon him. Usually he was expected to have accomplished some feat of conspicuous bravery. By this time he had selected the woman to whom all his life he would pay an extravagant homage. She was rarely his wife; indeed, she might with entire propriety be the wife of another man. Frequently she was much older than he — often so much higher in rank that marriage with her would have been impossible.

The castle life of this period has come — in modern times, — to have a glamour that in reality is quite false. The walls, though hung with exquisite tapestries, were rough and badly chinked. The window spaces were boarded up during storms, or later, when something

Costumes of the Norman Period

was known of glassmaking, they were fitted with sashes or frames so crude that all rooms were swept by wintry drafts. The furniture was rude, heavy, and uncomfortable — indeed, except for chairs, tables, chests, and crude beds, there was none. The floors were covered with rushes, partly to protect the feet from cold, partly to hide dirt and filth. Shaggy, wolflike dogs nosed among the rushes for bones which had been tossed from the table. Forks were unknown; people ate with their fingers and freely shared one another's plates. Greasy hands were wiped upon the fabrics of the rich costumes.

The chief concern of the owners of these castles was warfare. But it was warfare in a form that to us superficially resembles a great pageant. Unfortunately we are likely to forget that — beneath the colorful exterior — wounds were as painful as those of our own unromantic time.

The greatest glamour of this period surrounds the combats in the lists. A large oval plot of ground, along the sides of which were reared seats not unlike those of a crude grandstand, constituted the lists. Here the spectators ranged themselves in gaudy attire to do honor to the occasion. The colors of the time were, as in all primitive civilizations, brilliant and startling. The dresses of the women were picturesque, with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and with full flowing skirts. When we consider the crudeness of the mediæval shoe, we realize that dresses which exposed the feet to view would have been most inartistic. The jewelry of the period was heavy and clumsy. Bracelets and rings were freely worn. Women braided ropes of pearls into their hair, or wound them round their heads when the hair was dressed high. Usually, however, the hair was partially obscured by headdresses of considerable height and splendor.

A king at a feast or tilt wore flowing robes, trimmed with fur and occasionally with jewels. Somewhere about his person, in either crown or ring, or in a standard carried before him and set up near his station, appeared his coat of arms — the device worn by him on his shield, and supposed to commemorate his most conspicuous deed of valor. Great nobles copied these splendors of royalty.

Across the centre of the lists from side to side was drawn a barrier, at either end of which were stationed the judges. At the far ends of the oval were the pavilions of the opposing knights, flaunting their colors and their emblems. In these lists were fought two types of combat: the first was an individual trial of strength between two knights, in some cases also a test of the innocence of some crime on the part of one of the contestants; the second involved several knights on each side and was often fought as a feature of a great holiday. The first type was known as a joust, the second as a tourney. The procedure was much the same in both. The opposing warriors, heavily armed, met each other on horseback, wearing — in early times — sheet armor that enveloped them from head to heel. Later, chain mail, much lighter in weight, was used for head and limbs. The weapons were spears, lances, battle-axes, and short swords. As soon as a knight was unhorsed, his opponent dismounted, and the battle was continued on foot with swords until one or the other was definitely the victor. Often the struggle ended only with the death of the loser. This was the age in which any well-born man could successfully defend himself from the slightest imputation of blame, were he but possessed of sufficient skill or physical prowess to overcome his accuser in single combat.

Many legends of unparalleled bravery come to us from this period, of men grimly bearing their mortal hurts. Seen across the gap of centuries, the scars that ran from brow to jaw in the face of a hero like Lancelot suggest courage, undying determination, and skill of no mean sort. And yet there was another side to the gala occasions, with their shrilly trumpeting heralds, their quivering chargers, their hoarsely commanding knights, their fluttering galleries of excited women and stern nobles. Not one man, like Sir Torre in the *Idylls of the King*, but hundreds were crippled in their first tilt. What warped minds and hearts were bred in bodies doomed to crawl where once they ran, what shattered bright ambitions formed the basis for bitter brooding over arms destined to remain blank forever, rarely concerns the student of this period. There were left so many eager hearts that had somehow escaped death, there were so many gay voices to sing of lusty victories, so many soul-stirring hazards to recount, that aught else has been forgotten.

COMBATS

This was, finally, the age of the knight-errant — the time when any man who craved excitement was sure of gratifying his wish. It was only necessary for a man who woke in the morning wondering just what he wanted, and who decided over breakfast that nothing short

of a rousing fight would give him a satisfactory appetite for dinner, to ride out into the highway and straight into the jaws of any one of a dozen alluring brawls.

Upon the rudely mended roads motley troops of pack trains plodded their slow way; monks and churchmen ambled to the scenes of their devotions; cavalcades of nobles rode with clanging bridles to some tourney; ladies on meek palfreys journeyed from one castle to another; and robber bands and troops of outlaws lurked in ambush or dashed by bent on mischief. At no time in English history did the highways present such a wealth of picturesque throngs.

The extravagance of woman-worship, one of the important by-products of chivalry, was inextricably bound up with the religion of the Middle Ages as well as with the system of society. The sincere intention was, no doubt, to protect women — first from physical violence, and later, from any contacts which might be even faintly distasteful to them. Outwardly and actually it ensured a security from harm greater than any previous protection women had known. It ought not to be forgotten that this marks the first effort of civilization to protect the weak at the expense of the strong. There was, however, another side to woman-worship, an important one in the light of subsequent history and legislation. By degrees, and probably without conscious intent, the protectors — having successfully raised barriers against danger — came to believe that physical protection was not enough, and that mental and spiritual barriers would greatly benefit women. By other degrees they came to feel that any barriers which they had raised were not only just and wise, but well-nigh eternal. In the name of protection, which they actually furnished, they fixed limitations for the minds and

souls of women. The most ardent woman-worshipers believed on the one hand that women — at least, those of their own class — were sacrosanct; but they as ar-

A Tournament

dently believed that women were the natural temptresses of mankind. There was no contradiction apparent to their mind in worshiping womanhood and in seriously doubting that women possessed souls.

Just as the men of this period sought to limit the world in which women lived, they also chose to limit their own. In every age since, dreamers have tried to make over the world according to some plan of their own; but none of the later dreamers have come so near success as did these knights of the Middle Ages. These mediæval men did not ignore that which would contradict their conception of the world. Rather they dealt with a small part of the world and fought it into the shape they had in mind. The dominance of brute strength made this possible; the difficulty of communication with other parts of the country, moulded on different lines, greatly helped.

In this period comes the first æsthetic influence to which the Saxons were exposed. The Norman-French Christian dogma was not different from that taught the English by Augustine. But in the observance of the rites of worship the Norman-French influence brought to Britain the first intimation that beauty is an inseparable part of religion. It had not greatly interested the English hitherto, whether or not the structure in which they worshiped was worthy of the observances which it housed. The Normans, on the other hand, built sturdy, massive churches of such bulk that the English were startled into interest at the engineering feats, if not at first at the religious significance of such edifices. Without Norman training in church-building, the later exquisite Gothic cathedrals would have been impossible. Little by little, as the interest grew in the building of beautiful churches, the English accepted as fitting to the spirit of worship both a majestic building and an elaborate and impressive service. The splendid colors of the robes of the officiating priests, the softly swinging censers, the drowsy odor of incense, the sedately burn-

ing candles, the liturgic chants, the mystery of a Roman tongue already half-forgotten, waked in the English their latent sense of beauty. This colorful experience, the surge of great religious emotion, is mirrored in the added imaginative quality of the literature of the period.

Metrical romances form the body of the literary works of the time. Like the great epics of the period just past, these tales did not have their origin in English soil, but were brought with the conquerors from the Continent. The history of the legend concerning Lancelot will amply illustrate the similar history of many another cycle. The earliest account of this knight is now found in an old French chronicle — a translation from a German account, which in turn was itself a translation of a much earlier French story. From this account we learn that Lancelot's father was a king who fell into difficulties of so grave a nature that he was driven from his kingdom with his wife and infant child. Just outside the city the mob succeeded in killing the king and queen. Another moment and the child must have perished. A great and powerful fairy, called the Lady of the Lake, appeared, snatched the baby from his mother's arms, and bore him safely off to her island home among the uncharted seas. When Lancelot grew to manhood, his foster mother returned him to the everyday world of men, first having endued him with superhuman power, courage, and charm. This, then, is the framework upon which intricate and elaborate variations were wrought. Some of the later stories make Lancelot the greatest defender of the Christian Church; others picture him as the gayest of lovers in a world that teemed with ladies of great beauty.

Some such history — of early simplicity and later complexity — is the story of all the cycles of metrical

romances. Those which include Lancelot, Gawain, Merlin, and the Grail came gradually to be dominated by the personality of Arthur, the Celtic king who, according to tradition, defended England with great success against the Saxons and other heathen in the sixth century. Earlier tendency was to make each hero indomitable and possessed of all earthly graces. The effort to weave all the stories of the men who fought under Arthur into one great cycle is a late development.

The form in which these tales appear in the Middle Ages is that of a long, loosely planned poem replete with religious fervor and chivalric adventure. The hero is invariably a knight in armor, astride a snorting war-horse, rescuing ladies of distinct charm from other less chivalrous knights, from dragons of unimagined ferocity, and from enchantments. There are always tender love-scenes of no subtlety but great spirit. The ending is preferably a happy one.

These romances were stories for people with much leisure, who were interested in striking and colorful details and who wanted stories of marvels, adventures, and the pains and pleasures of the romantic love out of which they made almost a religion. These people had no historical perspective. They made no effort to discriminate in the selection of the material they used, drawing freely upon what was known as the Matter of France, the Matter of Rome, and the Matter of Britain. The first of these divisions concerns the exploits of Charlemagne and is well illustrated by the *Chanson de Roland*. The second deals with stories of Greek and Roman origin: Alexander the Great and the siege of Troy. The last group of tales consists of the Welsh romances in which Arthur figures largely, although the

Matter of Britain is often construed to mean also tales of popular English heroes like Guy of Warwick. The Matter of these divisions was widely separated in a chronological sense; and the authors, having no historical perception, were quite unaware of their frequent anachronisms.

The audience liked the pleasure which comes from recognizing familiar material. A bard telling an old story in a new way was forced, therefore, to include certain notable passages, whether or not their metre or rhyme fitted the rest of his romance. If he refused to comply with this demand, his popularity was doomed to certain eclipse. Neither audience nor storyteller had the slightest sense of proportion. A trivial occurrence was treated with the same wealth of detail as the greatest crisis. Largely for these reasons, the romances have disappeared as serious reading. They exist to-day for scholars and for children.

All the life of the period was by no means confined to great castles and chivalrous adventures. The common man, the tiller of the soil, the free adventurer levying toll upon the traveler and trying in such crude fashion to right economic injustice, the scholar in the monastery, the parish priest — all these led a life overshadowed and somewhat inarticulate. Among these a variety of characteristics ran riot: superstitious faith in demons, enchantments, and spells; love of feats of strength; delight in the confusion of the dignified; a boisterous sense of humor; a true religious feeling; a desire to know the origins of the race; an interest in simple experiences; a sense of tuneful and natural — even if meaningless — melody. Out of these grew the ballads, lyrics, chants, books of religious meditation and reflection, and uncritical history. Of these various

types only the ballad deserves special mention; and that because it mirrors the inmost hearts of the men who toiled on the great estates, gives us an insight into what they thought of the times in which they lived, how they regarded their masters, their innate hatred of injustice and hypocrisy. Of the ballads, those that celebrate Robin Hood are the most important.

In this period occurred the first three Crusades. They represent the summing up of the ideals of the times. They were the culminating adventure of chivalry. They held the lure of travel to a far, mysterious land, reverence for an undertaking in the name of religion, and all the passionate idealism that a lost cause is likely to inspire. The first Crusade succeeded in capturing Jerusalem in 1099. Another army fifty years later set out under the king of France and the emperor of Germany. Just before Richard I — afterward known as Cœur de Lion — came to the throne, the Mohammedans recaptured Jerusalem. The consuming ambition of this fiery king was to lead a conquering army to Palestine. For this project he taxed his subjects heavily, left his kingdom in the hands of subordinates, and sailed away to a career rich in thrills and adventures. Though he failed to retake Jerusalem, he concluded a treaty which made it safe for Christian pilgrims.

Aside from the fact that the Crusades stimulated activity in writing, they were important in that they brought England into much closer contact with the nations of the Continent, and consequently opened up the way to the more cosmopolitan literature which appears with Chaucer.

The Middle Ages, in later times, came to have peculiar interest. In an age of cultivation and social refinement like the eighteenth century, the Middle Ages

were looked upon as crude and uncouth, yet full of a strange, wild, "Gothic" charm. They were thought of as years of ignorance and superstition. Their religion seemed too emotional, their architecture too unrestrained, their literature childish in its frank delight in wondrous and impossible deeds of daring. A later time, the early nineteenth century, idealized the Middle Ages, seeing nothing but their beauty and their romance. What was once thought wild and strange, the nineteenth century thought daringly imaginative. Victorian scholars unearthed in old manuscripts the literature of those past times and edited it with loving care. The historical importance of the period began to be understood. The Middle Ages were even regarded as the happiest time in European history, when simple peasants contentedly tilled the soil, when ideals of chivalric honor made nobility more than mere rank, and when religion was a true light to a united Christendom.

These conceptions of the Middle Ages were an important stimulus to literature. In the eighteenth century they produced the "Gothic novel," a wild and extravagant type of romance like Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto.* In the early nineteenth century Sir Walter Scott used the pageantry of the Middle Ages as the background for such novels as *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman.* Still later Alfred Tennyson, in the *Idylls of the King,* reworked the mediæval legends of chivalry and religious devotion into a beautiful picture of perfect Christian knighthood and chivalric devotion.

IV

THE AGE OF CHAUCER

At the beginning of the fourteenth century England was more nearly united than was any other European country of the time. In spite of the tremendous forces that had been at work, a brief hundred years after the landing of the Conqueror great difficulty would have been experienced in determining whether a given citizen were Norman or Saxon. Quite probably he was neither, but rather a mixture of both; for the custom of intermarriage, encouraged by William, had flourished. Important as this custom was, its chief interest lies in the political and social union that it symbolizes. In a community where Norman and Saxon were united by family ties, the two languages could not exist exclusive of one another. As the races mingled, so merged their languages. Norman-French and Central-Angevin-French terms were absorbed into the native speech; but the form, the structure, and the basic vocabulary of the Saxon tongue were retained. The fully inflected endings which had marked the Saxon language, were, however, gradually weakened.

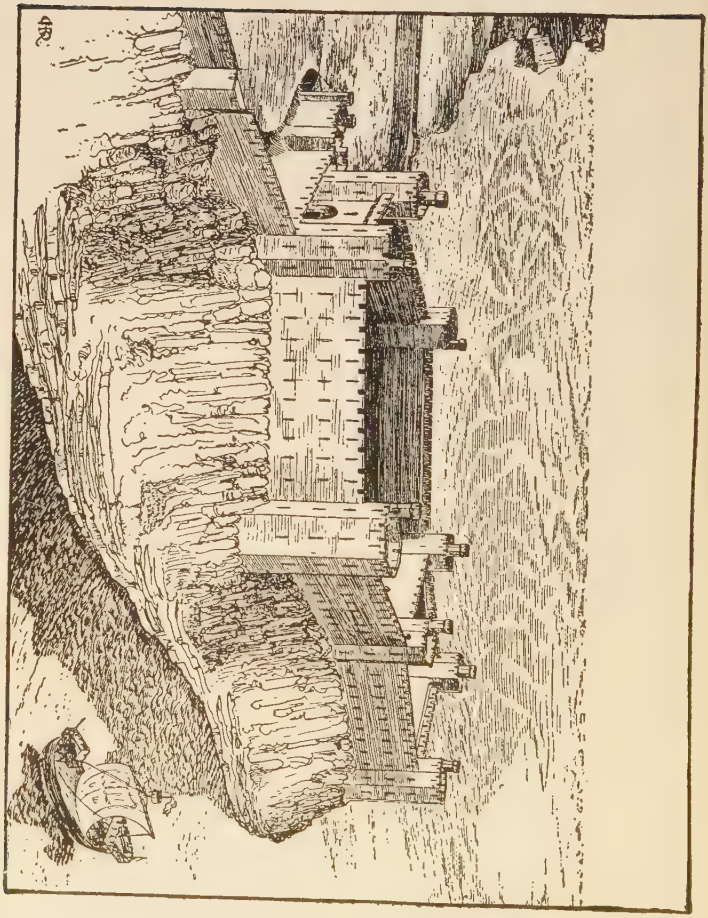
In matters pertaining to law, a blending of Norman and Saxon usage was evolved, which forms to this day the basis of British and American law.

Similarly, the national institutions of government were undergoing changes. The ancient Saxon conception of the king as the elective head of the State, and the

newer Norman idea of the king as feudal overlord of the country, were merged into the plan of a limited monarchy. Significant of the limits to regal power is the granting of the Great Charter. In 1215 the barons, the bishops, and the townsmen acting in unison were able to wrest from John an agreement to abide by the terms drawn up in a document called — from its length — the Great Charter (*Magna Charta*). This charter embodied old rights and privileges rather than new; it furnished a convenient list of what people should reasonably expect of their sovereigns; it served ever afterward to impress kings with the fact that a united people could compel a tyrannous ruler to accede to their wishes. Among its important specific promises was one guaranteeing justice to all men, and another which guaranteed that no man should be dispossessed, banished, or imprisoned except by the legal judgment of his peers.

At the close of the thirteenth century came the greatest political change Britain had as yet experienced. In 1295 Parliament met — not as of old with the clergy and the nobles alone, but with a third class, the representatives of the common people chosen from towns and counties. Thus for the first time the great middle class was given an opportunity for direct influence upon national policies.

The development of a national form of architecture assisted in a lesser degree to cement the tentative feeling of unity. The great cathedrals, such as York, Canterbury, Ely, the chapels of colleges such as that of King's College, Cambridge, were executed in the variety of Pointed Gothic known as Early English. Later, in the fourteenth century, when the decadence of the style set in, innumerable devices for lacework in stone,



A Castle of the Time of Edward I

exaggerated heights for spires, and over-decoration took the architectural imagination by storm.

The people of the upper classes lived, as had those before them, in castles. The site was nearly always an eminence — if possible, near a river. This site, usually irregular, was skirted by a deep moat or fosse which could be readily filled with water and which in itself presented no small obstacle to an attacking party. On the side next the castle this ditch was surmounted by palisades, an added hindrance to the enemy. Between this barrier and the first wall a patrol-walk surrounded the castle. Beyond this walk loomed up the first wall, from twenty to thirty feet high and from eight to ten feet thick. The top of this wall formed a walk which connected towers set at intervals along the wall, often rising to a height of several stories. The most important feature of the first wall was the gate. This was the point about which every battle sooner or later centred, and was, therefore, one of the strongest parts of the fortress.

In front of the moat and directly opposite the gateway stood the barbican, a heavily fortified outwork bristling with turrets. This miniature fort was often so arranged that it might be cut off from the castle and still suffer neither from lack of supplies nor from lack of troops. Almost without exception it was provided with its own supply of water. Through the barbican lay the entrance to the drawbridge, which was "strong enough to bear a squadron riding at a gallop and light enough to be easily raised by one soldier." At the castle-end of the drawbridge was the portcullis, an iron grating which slid up in its grooves when the drawbridge was down, and which slid down and prevented egress or entrance when the drawbridge was up. Beyond the

A Thirteenth-Century Hall

portcullis were another grating and doors reënforced with iron. Through these doors long, narrow, vaulted passages, with openings in the roof through which the soldiers above might discharge missiles, gave access to the castle proper. In addition to this main entrance there was always a postern or sally port, designed as a means of communication with the outside world in time of siege.

Within the first wall lay the large courtyard called the outer bailey. In some castles the church, storehouses, granaries, and the quarters for the servants stood in this enclosure; in others, these buildings were located in the inner court, cut off from the first by another ditch, gate, and wall. Within this last enclosure stood the donjon itself, flaunting lofty battlements, parapets, turrets, and towers. Its walls were usually from ten to twenty feet thick at the base, tapering upward toward the top, which often rose to the height of two hundred feet. The entrance, in an angle of the wall, led up a narrow winding stairway into ill-smelling semidarkness.

Within the mediæval castle were grouped scenes that varied from crude luxury to unmitigated squalor. The private apartments of the lord occupied the fourth floor, the third above the ground. On this floor the room of the chatelaine — the mistress of the castle — was the largest as well as the most interesting. In pretentious castles this room was lofty and spacious, lighted by a few tall slender windows with deeply embrasured window-seats. At Pierrefonds the ceiling was of wood heavily carved, crudely painted, and richly gilded. The great crossbeams rested upon brackets that simulated the heads of angels. In some cases the window spaces were filled with painted glass, and the great embrasures

furnished with benches and cushions that lent a gratifying sense of comfort to a room otherwise rather stark in its proportions. Not infrequently this room contained a reading-desk where the chaplain might thumb his musty, clumsy manuscripts. Here the ladies in waiting gossiped over their embroidery or told their beads. Here, too, the children frolicked, preferring the window seats in summer but the generous fireplace — when there was one — in winter. The walls of this room were hung with tapestries, both to hide the rough wall and to temper the drafts that entered through countless chinks.

The furniture of this room was distinctive. Eastern carpets on tiled floors, in the later castles, were a pleasant contrast to the rush-covered floors of earlier times. The seats about the walls were huge carved dower-chests. The dresser and its shelves furnished a sure index to the rank of the chatelaine: two shelves indicated a baroness, three a countess, and five a queen. Here stood the choice glassware and the gold and silver plate reserved for gala feasts in the great hall. In this room, also, was to be found the baron's treasure-chest, the keys of which hung at his lady's girdle, symbol and evidence of the trust reposed in her. In this often beautifully decorated cabinet were kept the family papers, the baron's seal, sacred relics, and what little ready money the family possessed. By far the most interesting piece of furniture in the room was the baron's bed. It stood usually upon a raised dais. It was richly curtained, lavishly canopied, covered with fine linen and heaped with pillows, fur coverings, and quilts of brocaded silk. In later centuries the bed grew to staggering proportions, so that it could accommodate a dozen warriors lying side by side.

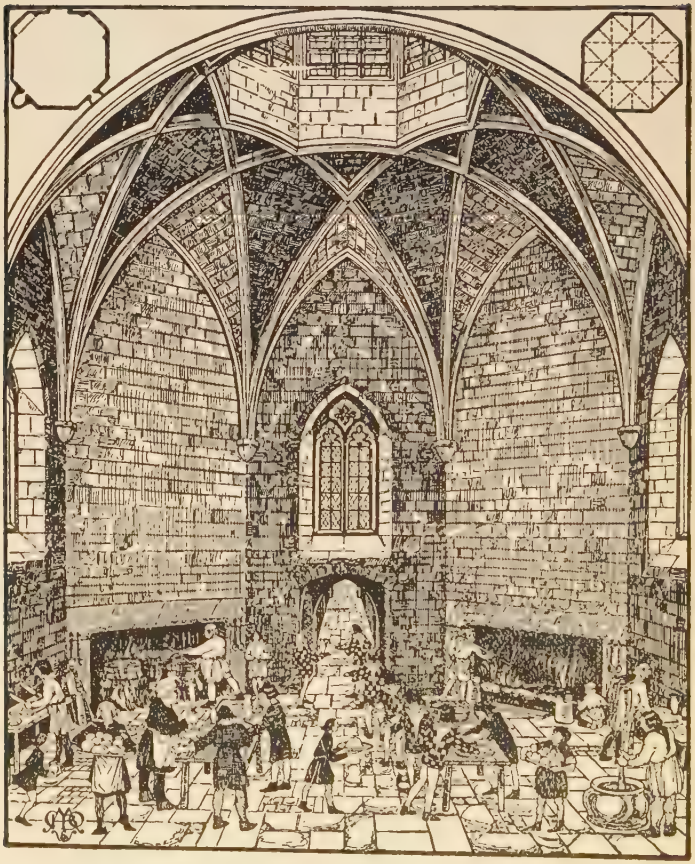
On this same floor were many serpentine passages, some ending in blank walls, others connecting with

secret staircases, hidden galleries, and strong rooms, and all designed to mislead and trap any enemy who succeeded in forcing an entrance.

The floor below the private apartments of the lord was given up to the great hall, a huge rectangular room, of tremendous height emphasized by inadequate lighting. At one end stood the raised dais where the baron and his most distinguished guests feasted. Here he was accustomed to deal out what he was pleased to call justice and to receive pledges of fealty and vassalage. Here in expansive mood, after the great feasts, he allowed himself to be entertained by the professional clowns of his household. In the more stately castles an immense fireplace was always a feature of this room. The light as well as the heat of the fire was extremely welcome. The dancing shadows, cast along the pennant-hung walls and flirting with the gentler shadows cast by torch and taper, furnished a proper air of glamour and romance.

Below the hall, on the ground floor, were the guard-room and the rooms for the garrison of soldiers. These quarters were lighted by tiny loopholes, any greater apertures being considered a dangerous invitation to an enterprising foe. On this floor and on the one below the arrangement of the rooms was elaborately inconvenient. The thickness of the outside wall permitted secret chambers and staircases for use when all other means of escape were cut off. Galleries were dug at the base of the walls, that a guard might always be able to detect and frustrate the first efforts of invaders at the dangerous practice of mining.

The basement floor of the donjon was used for cells and storehouses. The latter were usually supplied to stand a siege of a year. But even the heartening sight of siege supplies could scarcely banish from the mind



A Kitchen in the Time of Edward III

of the busy and efficient chatelaine a perception of and revulsion from the hideous cruelty for which this floor of the keep was designed. It was in these dank and dark confines that wounded and feverish prisoners dragged out their existence. The roar of siege and sacking might go on above, the pleasant jingle and clatter of returning hunts might rattle across the drawbridge, but there could be no change except the final change of death in the estate of the miserable creatures in the keep. Nor was the suffering confined to mere neglect. Here were practised, with no hint of humanitarian scruples, those methods of torture that were in other years to distinguish the Inquisition.

So simple a device as the longbow was to banish this fashion of dwelling and the life that it had housed. This weapon made knights in armor well-nigh useless, revolutionized the tactics of fighting, and brought the hired soldier into his first prominence. The longbow was first used by the English in the Hundred Years' War, a series of campaigns carried on in France in the hope of adding new possessions to the French domains of the British.

The causes of the Hundred Years' War — which lasted intermittently for a century — were various. Since the days of William, Duke of Normandy, the Norman kings of England had owned vast holdings in France. These possessions had dwindled somewhat, no longer including Normandy, though they still included about one fourth of the territory inhabited by the French. These lands, usually spoken of as Aquitaine, were in the southern part of France. They were a source of humiliation to both French and English rulers. The king of England, used to absolute overlordship of his English domains, found it difficult to lay his hands in those of a foreign prince and as a vassal promise fealty.

The king of France, on the other hand, was not only jealous of the rich returns yielded by these vast acres to a foreign king, but also seriously disturbed to have the growing national unity of his country menaced. France could never be completely unified while a quarter of her territory was held by an alien king.

In a situation so delicate as this, small causes of annoyance became significant. Recent kings of France had contributed help to Scotland in her wars against England. Flanders, held in fealty by a French overlord, had great trading interests in England, with which the French government did not hesitate to interfere. Quarrels between the fishing colonies on both sides of the Channel were frequent, bitter, and bloody.

Irritating as these points of friction were, actual warfare was avoided until in the time of Edward III a more important grievance arose. Through his mother, the daughter of Philip IV of France, Edward might have been considered a possible heir to the French throne, inasmuch as his mother's three older brothers had — after reigning in quick succession — each died without leaving sons. Naturally, the idea of a foreign king, especially an English king, was displeasing to the French. To discredit Edward's claim to the French throne they harked back to the old Salic law of the Franks, by which women were prevented from inheriting or transmitting property. Philip of Valois — a cousin — was, therefore, named king. Rather grudgingly, but quite expediently, Edward decided to acknowledge Philip, and paid him homage. In spite of this acknowledgment, by 1337 preparations were well under way for a British invasion of France.

With great acumen Edward educated his people in the issues and principles at stake. It is an early instance of

patriotic propaganda. A great wave of patriotism swept the country. Fanatics declared it a holy war; poets dedicated their best efforts to singing of it. The people felt during the first half of the long war that their enthusiasm was vindicated by the overwhelming victories of their armies. The great naval victory of Sluys was equaled only by the battle of Crecy two years later (1346). In both these encounters the element of chance greatly favored the English; in the latter battle a severe tempest wet the strings of the crossbows employed by the Genoese and rendered their weapons useless, whereas the English longbows were unharmed and gave for the first time an adequate idea of their superiority over every other weapon then employed. One other battle, that of Poitiers, is noteworthy. In this battle the desire of the French for hand-to-hand conflict outran their discretion and made them an easy prey to the better disciplined, smaller, and less aggressive English army. Four years later the peace of Bretigny was signed, but its terms were so rigorous and so entirely hateful to the French that it could not long endure.

When in 1413 Henry V came to the throne, he determined to renew the war with France. Accordingly, in 1414 he crossed the Channel with a small, thoroughly equipped force. Within a year he had secured a brilliant and decisive victory at Agincourt. This battle was the beginning of a dogged campaign, which on one hand aimed to besiege and occupy alien territory, and on the other aimed to enlist the aid of one of the two parties that now divided France. In 1420 Henry was successful, and was announced legal heir to the French throne when Charles VI should die. In the meantime he was to act as regent for the king, who was insane. To cement this treaty Henry married the daughter of

Charles. Had Henry lived, succeeding events might have been different, since he was a brilliant executive as well as a stubborn fighter. His reign as regent was, however, short; and upon his death and that of Charles — which followed almost immediately — confusion ensued. By the treaty of Troyes the infant son of Henry was legal heir to both the French and the English throne. The eldest son of Charles, however, was not greatly pleased by such an arrangement, and the war was continued. Bedford, acting for young Henry VI, defeated the Dauphin — as the eldest son of the French king was called — often enough to retain the English possessions.

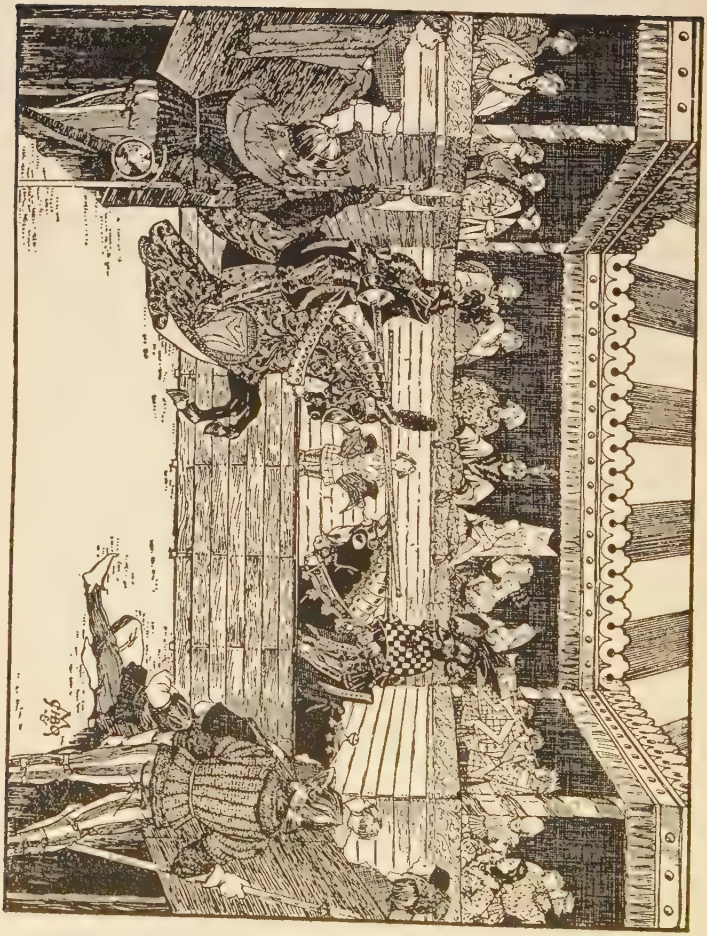
In 1419 Joan of Arc, a young peasant girl who believed that God had selected her as her country's deliverer, appeared at Chinon, and persuaded the Dauphin to permit her to lead a few troops to the relief of the beleaguered city of Orleans. Some of the courage which Joan herself believed divine was communicated to the army. Even the Dauphin was roused to energy. In ten days the siege of Orleans was raised. In three months the girl had made good her promise to lead the young prince to be crowned at Rheims. Joan now wished to return home, but the Dauphin, who was incapable of regarding her as other than a mascot, would not allow her to leave his army. Repeatedly she had told of miraculous voices warning her of the end; repeatedly, in spite of her inner convictions, she had ridden into battle at the head of the French troops. In May 1430 the maid was captured by the English at Compiègne. For solace she had the knowledge that, had her advice been followed and a blow struck at Paris, the English could have been routed and disaster averted for her ruler and herself. Her trial and martyrdom are

not a pleasant page in English justice. She had no concessions made her; she had not even a fair trial; she had little if any understanding of the charges brought against her; but she must have known that the intention of the trial was conviction at any cost. She was burned at the stake in the market place of Rouen. Her death was an episode so revolting and cruel that even some of her persecutors wavered as the flames swept up about her. And to-day, when danger threatens France, the peasants like to believe that the Maid of Orleans returns once more to ride into battle at the head of the troops, as long ago she marshaled another army to victory.

Joan's martyrdom did not deprive the French of the advantage she had helped to win. With indifferent persistence the French king pushed his army forward, securing now and then gains of importance, until in 1453, at Bordeaux, he routed the English and deprived them of all their French possessions except Calais.

The Hundred Years' War had brought to England little of what she had expected. It had brought spectacular battles, a wave of patriotism, a knowledge of the advantage of employing hired soldiers, the use of the longbow — but it had cost her all her French territory. It brought to England a horrible pestilence, and sent the soldiers back to the land with a great sense of discontent, which was to culminate in the Peasants' Revolt.

All the consequences of war were felt at this time. There was a tremendous shortage of labor. The best men were sent abroad to fight; the least able remained to carry on affairs at home. A great multitude of discontented, disillusioned people returned, who had found little of the glamour that Edward so freely advertised



A Joust between Knights in the Time of Henry VI

when he was recruiting his first army. They returned, moreover, to find that through scarcity of labor the crops were about to fail, and that they and their families, as a consequence, would be close to starvation. A state of affairs ensued not very different from that which we now term Bolshevism. There were also the equivalents of the strikes and labor troubles of our own day. These difficulties took place among the guilds.

The guilds were organizations serving many purposes. Some were purely religious in their character; but the majority were intended to further the interests of trade or of special crafts. The latter were made up of skilled artisans of different trades, each trade having its own guild. The main purpose of such a guild was the securing of reliable and skilled workmen and the production of honest goods. Every worker who aspired to become a recognized artisan or a master of his craft was obliged to serve seven years as an apprentice. An exception was made in the case of sons of masters. An apprentice lived with his master as pupil and servant. He received no wages, but his master was required to furnish him instruction, food, and lodging and to supervise his morals. At the end of the seven-year term the youth became a master — if he possessed sufficient capital to set up an establishment of his own — or a journeyman. This is the one point at which the modern question of capital and labor entered the early craft organizations. As a means to honest products, the warden of the guild exercised a strict supervision of the completed articles. Those which he deemed below standard he confiscated. He had, moreover, the power to settle the disputes about fixed charges and wages that occasionally arose between the journeymen upon the one hand and the masters upon the other.

The tendency of these guilds was to freeze up economic life. By the segregation of laborers, by the increased need of capital to set up in a trade, by the jealousy attendant upon the entrance of newcomers to a trade, youthful aspirants were discouraged. Those who belonged to the guilds wished to keep the right of membership hereditary. They also wished to keep the supply of skilled laborers sufficiently low to ensure a good price for any work that they did. Such tactics only added to the already over-heavy economic burden.

In the summer of 1349 the bubonic plague appeared in England for the first time. Though later centuries saw a return of this plague, no other epidemic proved to be so devastating as this first one. Between August when it was first detected and May when it abated, one person in every three is supposed to have perished. Children frequently recovered or escaped it altogether. Mature people in the best of health were struck down without warning. At its height it worked with sinister swiftness. There are innumerable stories told of friends who greeted one another at noontime in the best of health and spirits, and who would have been buried before nightfall, had there been cemeteries and gravediggers sufficient to accommodate them. Aside from the terror raised by a disease which ran so swift a course, there were the frightful sanitary conditions inevitable when great numbers of dead need to be buried and there is neither room in the cemeteries for their graves, nor enough well people to dig the graves. Whole townships passed out of existence; cities appear to have been partly deserted. The suffering and the morbid experiences of the people, already worn out with the long wars, served only to increase the discontent that was to vent itself in the Peasants' Revolt.

The final phase of the economic situation was also partly inflamed by a religious revival started by John Wyclif. Had he contented himself with his attacks upon the lazy clergymen of the time and with his translation of the Bible into English, he would have done much good and little harm; but he preached a kind of anarchistic socialism. His followers, who called themselves Lollards, were soon scattered throughout England. They gained the confidence of the people through taking over the offices of caring for the sick and the poor — services that had previously endeared the clergy to the people. By this service the Lollards had easy access to leadership in the different communities. Their sympathy was with the rebels in the revolt of 1381.

Up to this time taxes had been levied upon property real and personal, and upon imported and exported goods; now every person above twelve years of age was directly taxed. The second collection of this new tax brought about an epidemic of riots. Frenzied crowds failed to discriminate between manor house, castle, and church. Mobs from several towns joined forces and set out for London under the leadership of Wat Tyler. Arrived there, they continued their acts of destruction until the city was helpless. They demanded and received an interview with Richard II, then a boy of fifteen, who promised to right every wrong from which they suffered. At a second interview, granted the next day, Tyler made new demands, whereupon a bitter dispute arose. Tyler was dragged from his horse and stabbed to death. The peasants then turned their bows upon the royal party. Richard cunningly offered himself as their leader, persuaded them to follow him outside the walls of the city — and turned them over to the mercy of the troops who soon dispersed them. Without Wat Tyler the revolution

collapsed. Parliament by proclamation annulled the promises of the king, and in so far as possible economic life was resumed on the same basis as before.

To this period belong the first faint stirrings of a national drama. The Roman Catholic Church in England endeavored to teach Biblical truths by pantomime. The greater part of the people could not understand the language of the Mass or the Bible. At great festivals, therefore, the service was elaborated by brief plays which took place first before the altar, then in the nave, and finally in the church porch. They then so completely lost their religious aspect that they passed out from the jurisdiction and approval of the Church. In the beginning they were nothing more than an animated primer of sacred literature. Gradually dialogue and the germs of stage business were introduced. As the plays passed down the nave and out across the threshold, faint touches of humor were added, which were later to take on a character almost ribald and certainly blasphemous.

On the Continent two types of religious plays were recognized. Dramas that depicted scenes from the Bible were called mystery plays, while those that celebrated the life of a saint, or that taught some strongly moral lesson in a secular setting, were called miracle plays. In England no such distinction was made. The earliest miracle play of which we have any knowledge was given about 1110. In plays of this nature the important characters frequently spoke in French or Latin, the minor characters in English. One of the first miracle-plays presented in the mother tongue was called the *Harrowing of Hell*, apparently written for the Easter services. It consisted of a dialogue between the risen Christ and Satan at the mouth of Hell. To

mediæval minds there was nothing either incongruous or revolting in such a scene. No one seems to have objected to scenes in later miracle plays in which Noah's wife refused to enter the ark until the patriarch resorted to physical violence. No one seems to have felt that scenes of rather broad comedy, with Joseph as a principal character, detracted from the beauty of other closely following scenes, such as those depicting the adoration of the infant Jesus. It is even possible that in some such crude sequence was discovered the legitimate and popular device of using low comedy as a means of relief to scenes of high tension, or for the purpose of heightening grief and horror.

After the plays became too secular to serve the original purpose of the Church, they passed into the hands of the guilds.

To the poetry of the period belongs the allegorical *Piers Plowman.* This has been considered the most vivid and accurate account of the social and political conditions of the time. Though for many years supposed to be the work of one writer, William Langland (*c.* 1332–1400), it is now thought to be the work of several. Certain dialectical inconsistencies in the text make it almost impossible to credit its authorship to one man. Hitherto literature had concerned itself with pleasing the taste of the court.

Piers Plowman was obviously written for the laboring man. It teaches the dignity of labor and the equality of all men in the sight of God. It also links the fourteenth century unmistakably with the far distant past, showing with its strongly alliterative lines and its heavily accented rhythm that the common people still cherished the old Saxon form of poetry, of which *Beowulf* was the greatest example.

COSTUMES OF THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

To this period belongs also Geoffrey Chaucer (1340–1400), who is called by Tennyson "the morning star of song":

> — the first warbler, whose sweet breath
> Preluded those melodious bursts that fill
> The spacious times of great Elizabeth.

Somewhat arbitrarily his birth has been assigned to the year 1340, though it may have occurred a few years earlier or later. Through some obscure connection of his father's with the royal household, Chaucer himself was more or less linked to it all his days. He married a maid in waiting named Philippa; she may have been a sister of the third wife of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, whose great-grandson was to be Henry VI, and whose relatives in future times were to fight the great civil wars known as the Wars of the Roses. John of Gaunt was the uncle of Richard II, father of Henry IV, and grandfather of Henry V. Chaucer served with the king's forces in France as early as 1359, was taken prisoner, and was ransomed by the king. This would indicate that his welfare was a matter of concern to the royal family. He was again in the army in 1369, and was later sent to Genoa, to arrange for an English port for Genoese trade.

From the time of his first Italian journey his literary progress was rapid. His imagination was kindled by the work of such men as Petrarch, who in his poems to Laura perfected the form now known as the Italian sonnet, and by the work of Boccaccio, who in the *Decameron* bound loosely together stories of varied plots. From the latter, Chaucer is thought to have received the suggestion of his plan for the *Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer, like Boccaccio, used the device of an assemblage to unify a group of tales. Unlike Boccaccio, he preserved a

certain suitability between the character of the person telling the story and the story itself. Thus the tale told by the Squire dealt with chivalry, true love, and thrilling rescues: subjects likely to be close to the heart of "a lovyer and a lusty bacheler," who was "as fresh as is the month of May," just as that told by the Shipman was a picture of common life, without the redeeming idealism foreign to such a man's nature.

Chaucer was also quick to take advantage of the device later much beloved of Shakespeare: the juxtaposition of humor and pathos for the purpose of intensifying each. To this end he arranged the tales so that delicate contrasts of sly humor and gentle irony are apparent.

The keen student recognizes in Chaucer's works all the varied forms of mediæval literature. The *Romaunt of the Rose* is the ever popular courtly romance; the *Parlement of Foules* is the elaborate allegory peculiar to the time; the *Knight's Tale* is the heroic mediæval romance; the *Nun's Priest's Tale* is a form of the ancient beast-legend; the *Shipman's Tale* is a type of the fabliau, a tale of common life with strong elements of farce; the *Man of Law's Tale*, a saint's legend; the *Pardoner's Tale*, a perfect specimen of the *exemplum* or moral anecdote. Other works of Chaucer include the *Boke of the Duchess*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, and the *Legende of Good Women*.

The poet's life was greatly influenced by the prestige — or want of prestige — of John of Gaunt. When the Duke's power was sufficient, Chaucer had lucrative employment; at other times, celebrated in his *Compleynt to his Empty Purs*, he summoned philosophy to live in kindly gracious humor on intimate terms with poverty. A few months after the king, realizing Chaucer's

THE TABARD INN, SOUTHWARK, LONDON

(Made famous by Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales")

need, raised his pension, the poet died and was buried with great honors in Westminster Abbey.

When we want to know what the people of Chaucer's day were like, what they wore, how they talked, and what they thought about, we turn to the *Canterbury Tales*, to that great gallery of types, portrayed first in the Prologue, and then — more minutely — by the story which each told on that famous pilgrimage to Canterbury.

In summing up Chaucer's legacy to English literature, we must remember his service in establishing the form of modern English. At the time when Chaucer was writing, the English spoke and wrote several distinct dialects. Chaucer's dialect — that of the Midland counties — was also the dialect of London, long the commercial centre of the kingdom and then the social centre as well. The other dialects rapidly lost importance. People desired to speak as the court spoke, and to speak the commercial language. The influence of Chaucer helped to establish his dialect as the literary dialect. The other dialects died out, except for colloquial usage. Many examples of them are still to be found in the rural districts of England, and among certain classes in the cities.

V

FROM CHAUCER TO ELIZABETH

Following the disastrous French campaigns of the Hundred Years' War, England entered upon a period of civil warfare known as the Wars of the Roses. These intermittent campaigns took their name from the emblem worn by the house of York, a white rose, and from the emblem of a red rose, which was at once adopted by the followers of Henry VI. In these encounters the great defect of feudalism was strikingly and bloodily illustrated. Great nobles, who had been given estates and fortified castles with the privilege of maintaining a horde of followers, used these to wage war upon the party of the king himself.

Henry VI was the great-grandson of John of Gaunt and was, therefore, of the house of Lancaster. He had a cousin, Richard, Duke of York, who was descended on his mother's side from an elder brother of John of Gaunt, and on his father's side from a younger brother of the same duke. Richard's son, Edward, Duke of York, did not at first claim the throne, but sought chiefly to annoy Henry's group of favorites. Later, after a successful pitched battle with these nobles, Edward in 1461 declared himself king, and caused Henry to flee with his family into Scotland. The war was not, however, abandoned at this point. Henry at one time was restored to the throne for a few months, but, upon Edward's return, was imprisoned and died almost immediately.

Although these civil wars did not directly affect the mass of the people, indirectly the results were felt by them for centuries. The contest had clearly demonstrated the danger to a strong, centralized government of an institution such as feudalism, which allowed a wealth of power to a few nobles. Because feudalism was inimical to strong royal power, its death knell was practically sounded by the Wars of the Roses. Barons were now gradually shorn of their privileges. Social as well as political interest centred not — as formerly — about individual castles, but about London and court life. Whereas previously great sums had been expended upon churches, cathedrals, manor houses, and castles, much greater sums were now expended upon town buildings. The centre of trade and justice shifted from a single individual who happened to own the land upon which a town was built, to the town itself.

In these days were established the market towns and the chief trade-centres, which, owing to recent interest in western exploration and trade, had shifted from the eastern and southern coast-towns to those of the western shore. Foreign trade with Germany and Flanders flourished, largely, however, in the hands of aliens. In the period of peace that succeeded civil war, men turned their attention to marketing all sorts of products. The wool business and the pottery business throve. Wool commanded such high prices that before 1600 many farmers turned their land into sheep pastures, thus setting adrift many laborers. Banking received a new impetus from reawakened interest in trade. Roads were repaired to bear with less hazard and waste of time eagerly sought commodities. Wagons and carts became the usual means of transporting merchandise, and crude

apologies for stagecoaches were making their initial appearance. Merchants, as a class, took on a new importance with their growing riches, and sought favor with their countrymen by lavish donations to the recently established schools and colleges.

Upon the death of Edward IV, his young son, Edward V, was crowned, but was almost immediately put to death — probably by his uncle, who then became Richard III, the most cruel and unscrupulous king England ever had. The only surviving representative of the house of Lancaster, Henry Tudor, entered into a new plot which resulted in the battle of Bosworth Field, where Richard — happily for his country's sake — was killed. Henry Tudor, who was then crowned as Henry VII, married the daughter of Edward IV.

Under this shrewd king the modern English organization of government began. Henry determined so to strengthen the government that wars similar to the Wars of the Roses could not again harass a king. He also determined to enrich English pockets by diverting foreign trade from the aliens — by whom it had long been carried on — to English merchants. His interest in trade led indirectly to an increased interest in discovery. John Cabot, previous to his long voyage to America, in 1496 was commissioned to claim for the English crown all lands that he might discover. England was thus enriched by the territory of Labrador, a province which she has ever since retained.

When Henry VIII came to the throne he found the financial affairs of the kingdom in a most gratifying condition. He did but little to improve them. His great importance to us lies in the fact that he hastened the Reformation in England. Dissatisfaction with the administration of religious affairs had been growing in

England, as well as in Italy, France, Flanders, and Germany. Henry's personal need for a change of religious power precipitated matters. His need grew out of his marriage to the widow of his brother Arthur. According to canonical law such a marriage was invalid; however, papal permission for the union had been sought and received. For many years this marriage seemed in every respect a happy one; but all the children except a delicate daughter, Mary, died, and Henry became increasingly anxious about a male heir. He professed — and may have felt — some doubt as to the validity of the marriage. Unfortunately, at this time he fell violently in love with Anne Boleyn, a lady in waiting to the queen. This circumstance is generally considered to have sharpened his conscientious scruples about his marriage. He sought the advice of his Chancellor, who was also Archbishop of York and Papal Legate. Cardinal Wolsey, however, could give the king no satisfaction: a ruling from the Pope was necessary. When Henry began to suspect that Wolsey was not pressing the matter with the Pope, he withdrew his confidence from this man, whom he had raised from a humble origin to a position second only to his own. Hurt at his king's attitude, the cardinal offered to resign his political position. Henry in cold-blooded fashion accepted the resignation, and turned his attention from seeking a pronouncement from Rome to stirring up sentiment against the Pope.

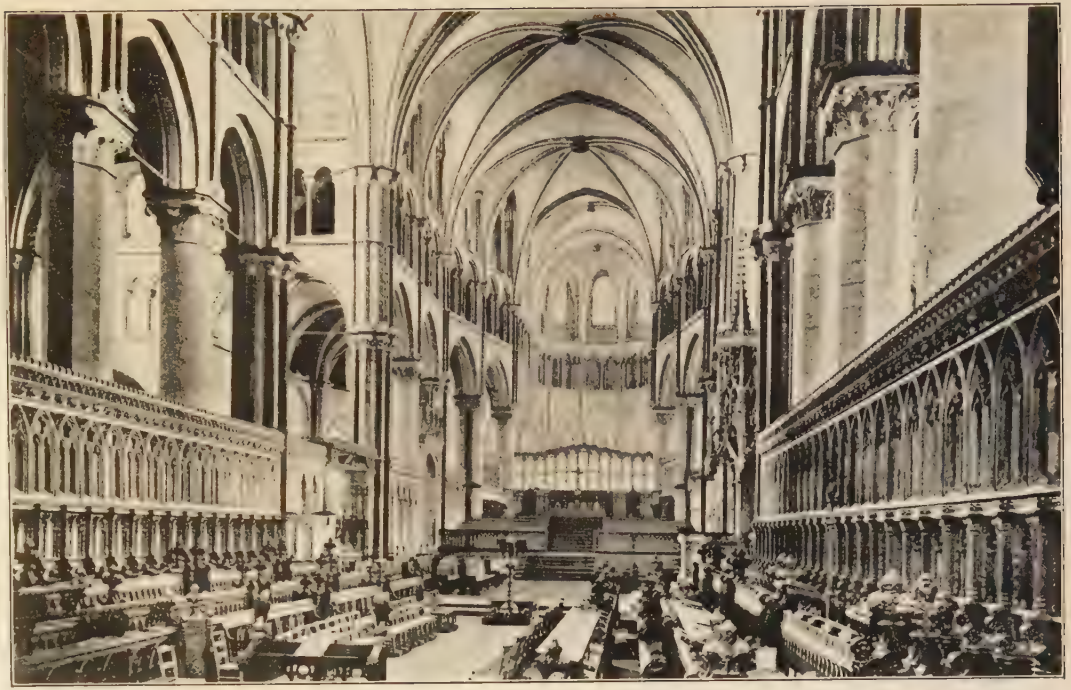
The intellectual aspect of the Reformation which aided Henry in his personal quarrel, was due to the fact that there were in England many who found themselves adrift from any school of religious thought. They became further alienated because they began to look upon the Roman Catholic Church as a foreign power, which

would — they contended — come finally to interfere in the English Government. They were resentful because the Church collected in England large sums of money which were not spent for the English, and because the representatives of the Church in England seemed rich, powerful, and ostentatious in their bearing.

Socially there was some resentment against the large percentage of seats held by the clergy in the House of Lords. Members of the middle class were no longer willing to concede unquestioningly to clergymen places of the highest distinction. This change in attitude was due in part to the fact that the well-loved parish priest, tireless in the service of his people, was disappearing. The change in the character of the clergy was somewhat humorously noted by Chaucer and bitterly assailed by Wyclif. A large number of the clergy had fallen away from the old idea of service, taking all the privileges of their position for granted, and paying little attention to the accompanying obligations.

This was also a time in which men thought much more about trade and education than about religion. It was, moreover, a period of change in the practical details of living. People were changing the way they built roads, the way they farmed, the way they traded. With the invention of gunpowder, they changed their mode of warfare. With change uppermost in their minds, they found a change in religion comparatively easy to accept. Moreover, they had Henry's assurance that the new religion would be little different from the old, and that the Pope's power in England would be abolished.

In formulating a policy for the Church of England, Henry was careful to mould every detail to his own desires. He was to appoint the clergy. In 1534, by



Interior of the Choir, Canterbury Cathedral

the Act of Supremacy, he became "Supreme Head of the English Church on Earth." Since what he so ardently desired was an opportunity to do exactly as he pleased in the matter of marriage, the details which he made the matter of his most earnest attention were not those which would contribute most readily to the contentment of his people. It was of no concern to him that in the Church of his patronage no official provision was made for the care of the sick — a service that had been exceedingly important in the Roman Catholic Church which he had taken from his people. Relief of poverty, also, had been the concern of that other Church. For centuries no effort was made to establish the organized, secular charity which was eventually to take its place.

The clergy, whom one would have expected to resent this change most deeply, found themselves in a difficult position. They could — in most cases — by agreeing with Henry, retain their important offices. By rebelling, they could be certain of losing their property and their lives.

Almost as if he had foreseen the recantations that would take place under Edward VI's misuse of power, Henry caused the monasteries to be destroyed. Not since the invasion of Britain by the Danes had such scenes occurred. All articles of value were seized for the Crown; precious relics were destroyed by fire; the whole business of sacking was carried on in the spirit of those who would stamp out superstition. Lives as well as property were lost. Antagonism to the Anglican Church was, of course, born in the hearts of loyal, conservative men. Those who could have worshiped in the same church building as before, with the same priest officiating, and scarcely have felt the difference in the two

THE AISLE OF A MONASTIC CHURCH

religions, were by this course of action made hostile. Much that was priceless, but which Henry in his ignorance thought worthless, — among other things many ancient manuscripts, — was destroyed. It is well, however, to remember, that whereas Henry was unpardonably ruthless in his destruction of the monasteries, many charges might have been preferred against them with which the great body of the people would have been in sympathy. The class of men and women entering monastic life at this time was smaller and less desirable because already there were other ways than this of finding quiet retirement. Before this time many of the monasteries had ceased to be self-supporting. Their lands had been mortgaged, and in some cases the buildings had been used for schools, colleges, and hospitals.

Henry and his matrimonial difficulties — which were far from solved when he founded a Church to end them — are not of further importance to us. His son Edward succeeded him and caused more far-reaching religious changes to be made. In 1552 the Act of Uniformity required the use of the newly compiled prayer-book, compelled the attendance of the people at the church of their parish, and forbade the use of the Latin service. At this time the use of holy water and the imposing of penance were abandoned. So stringent was Edward's council in securing religious observances that, upon his death, the coming of Mary, known to be a Roman Catholic, was welcomed by many as a grateful relief, signalizing the comfortable return to older usage. Mary, however, entered upon a course of religious persecution which earned for her the title of "Bloody Mary."

Whatever may have been the religious disturbances of the time, it must be said for Henry VIII and his

successors that they secured for their country peace and commercial prosperity. The protection of the old wall of London was felt to be no longer needed. The confines of the city proper could not now accommodate the influx of population, and suburbs for the first time became fashionable. On either side of the Thames great houses were built. The river became more and more the favorite thoroughfare of the city, because of the cramped and noisome condition of the streets. The gutters still served as sewers, and, aside from a fastidious desire to escape the odors of London streets, the prudent man risked his life as seldom as possible in the maelstrom of traffic that swept uncontrolled through the main avenues.

The many changes which were affecting England were, in no small measure, the result of a great, many-sided intellectual movement, the Renaissance, which was bringing profound changes into European civilization. Ever since the thirteenth century, European countries had been feeling the stir of new ideas, new discoveries, new inventions, and new forms of art. The movement had its inception in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in Italy, where it showed itself in a tremendous outburst of creative energy in art. Such names as Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian, Tintoretto, and Da Vinci give some idea of the new impetus to architecture, painting, and sculpture. The Renaissance was no less important in literature. Petrarch, who wrote the incomparable sonnets to Laura, and Boccaccio, who made the first tentative effort at a story-form later to be known as the novel, became famous all over Europe. Everywhere men came to look upon Italy as the centre whence radiated a new and fascinating beauty.

The chief influence in bringing about the tremendous

intellectual stir of the Renaissance was a renewed interest in the scholarship and the artistic achievements of ancient Greece and Rome, which led to the study of Greek and Latin. The term, "humanism," sometimes applied indiscriminatingly to the Renaissance, should, properly speaking, be used only of the interest in these languages. Petrarch was responsible for the term, declaring as he did that the true concern of the student should be the *litteræ humaniores* (the more human writings), rather than the literature of the ancient theological controversies. Wherever the movement spread, this respect for the classic languages was found. To it we are indebted for the insistence of the English public schools upon Greek and Latin as a foundation of education, and to the college requirements in America for the study of the classics in the preparatory schools.

From Italy the Renaissance spread to France, from there to the Netherlands, and from there to Germany and to England at approximately the same time. In Britain its concern was with literature rather than with the other arts. The spread of this interest in literature was the more rapid because of the recent introduction of printing from the Netherlands, by Caxton in 1476. Hitherto books had been the treasured possessions of the few. They had been heavy manuscripts, hand-printed and illuminated upon vellum, usually the work of monks. Now they became smaller and less bulky, though by our standards still clumsy. Books of this period were costly, but, when one considered their previous prices, they seemed inexpensive. Serious and thrifty scholars might now own libraries with a pleasing variety of volumes. The scholastic imagination was fired by the flood of literature let loose by Caxton's press, as the hearts of the adventurers of this time were

stirred by dreams of gold, eternal youth, and beautiful lands located perilously close to the edge of the universe.

Schools and universities were soon flooded with students. As early as the twelfth century there had been at Oxford a great body of students and teachers. Earlier there had been in many cathedral towns other groups — these quite frankly the outgrowth of the Church schools. At Paris and at Chartres, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, groups of distinguished teachers gathered. Thither went the representatives of British education, and they returned to help disseminate the wisdom they had there received.

At both Oxford and Cambridge certain famous teachers were eagerly sought out. Some sort of loose organization among the instructors was common and was known as a *universitas*, or university. Of such a group the Chancellor, whose duty it was to exercise authority over the teachers, was the chief officer. One was appointed at Oxford as early as the reign of King John. With this nucleus of a faculty and administration board began the history of the two great English universities.

In the thirteenth century came the movement to establish separate colleges. The first at Oxford was Merton College, founded by Walter Merton, Lord High Chancellor and Bishop of Rochester. Merton elaborated for this foundation a scheme which he had already devised to defray the expense of educating his eight nephews, assigning the funds of a certain manor to the purpose. This establishment, with the code known as the Merton Statutes, is the pattern of most of the later foundations. The incorporated fellows, described as the house, hall, or college-of-scholars of Merton, were provided with a chapel by the rebuilding of a parish

A Mediæval Scholar

church. In the same manner they were provided with a hall, a kitchen, and a dormitory. The instructors were given their board, lodging, pocket money, and clothes (then called livery). In return, they swore to obey the rules of the house, and agreed to take the course of philosophy and logic which preceded the study of theology. They further agreed to forfeit their places in the college if they accepted a benefice or entered a monastic order. Their behavior was, however, as severely criticized by their fellows as if they had indeed belonged to an order of monks. Much of the conduct of affairs among the teachers was modeled upon monastic usage.

Among the important colleges of Oxford founded in the time of Henry VIII was that of Christ Church, established by Wolsey. To this day it is considered socially among the most desirable of the colleges.

In the thirteenth century Roger Bacon was the centre of a group of instructors who gained renown as lecturers at the University of Paris. The common language — Latin — of the students made the problem of foreign study and the interchange of lecturers a comparatively simple one. Since there was no fixed time for graduation, students felt at liberty to wander from university to university, acquiring knowledge at leisure. The degrees which they eventually received were at first merely licenses to teach.

It was to the universities that the flood of students stimulated by the Renaissance came. Because of this awakened interest in learning, new studies were added to what had been known as the seven liberal arts, that is, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and the science of music. From 1494 Greek was taught at Oxford, serving as an introduction to medicine and to philosophy. Only when we recall that

Greek had long been under the ban of the Papacy as the language of heresy,[1] can we appreciate the stir occasioned by its inclusion in the curriculum.

Many of the students who went to Oxford and Cambridge fired by the spirit of the Renaissance were reformers of one sort or another. We find Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), one of the most talented and well-versed of humanists, writing the first social tract, *Utopia*, in which he comments upon the obvious faults in the civilization and the government of the period, and outlines an ideal State, somewhat in the manner in which Plato, centuries before, had written of his ideal Republic.

Roger Ascham (1515–1568), the tutor of the future queen, Elizabeth, was one of the pioneers in forming a ready, workable prose style. His *Scholemaster* is one of the earliest English tracts on education. To Ascham, with his stern English conscience, there was nothing but evil in the new fashion of regarding Italy as the source of all artistic inspiration. In the *Scholemaster* he says:

> I am afraid that over-many of our travelers into Italy do not eschew the way to Circe's Court, but go and ride, and run, and fly thither. . . . Vanity and vice and any licence to ill living in England was counted stale and rude unto them. . . . If you think we judge amiss and write too sore against you, hear what the Italian saith of the Englishman, what the master reporteth of the scholar, who uttereth plainly what is taught by him, and what is learned by you, saying, "Inglese Italianato è un diabolo incarnato," that is to say, you remain men in shape and fashion, but become devils in life and condition.

To this period belongs Sir Thomas Malory (1478–1535), who collected a group of French Arthurian

[1] In 1054 a controversy over Church teachings caused the Western (Roman Catholic) Church thereafter to consider the Orthodox Eastern (Greek) Church, heretical.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

romances and endeavored to weld them into a connected story of Arthur's court. The self-conscious style forms a barrier between the reader of to-day and the author of long ago. A Christian gentleman of wide culture for his time, Malory was interested in showing how the beauties of his religion were exemplified in the lives of fifth-century heroes. As Tennyson in later years fitted these stories with a group of consciously complex, nineteenth-century men and women, so Malory told them as if they concerned people with fifteenth-century scruples. There remain evidences in the text that prose writing was still an adventurous medium of self-expression. What Chaucer did for English poetry, Malory did for English prose. His straightforward directness, his simplicity and nakedness of recital are among his greatest charms.

In 1557 was published the first collection of miscellaneous English verse, called *Tottel's Miscellany.* The chief contributors were Wyatt (1503–1542) and Surrey (*c.* 1517–1547). Both of these men wrote sonnets; Wyatt imitated the form that through Petrarch's use had become known as Italian; Surrey used the variation known as English. Surrey was the first English peer to become a literary dilettante.

The common people of the time were chiefly interested in ballads, which — in more or less garbled form — they had continually chanted as memories of olden sorrows or triumphs. *Sir Patrick Spens* and the *Robin Hood* cycle are among the better known. Sometimes meaningless refrains persist, which appear to be older ballads jumbled without reason into newer ones.

The diction of the ballads is simple; the narratives attempted are bald. The unmoved and unchanged choice of words may recite tales either of woe or of joy.

In the better-educated circles, literary criticism lifted its head for the first time under the leadership of men like Ascham. Purely creative literature was scarce. The habits of scholars who considered and weighed olden knowledge, meantime groping painstakingly toward new intellectual heights, did not lead to the creation of real literature. Literary works centred on travel and life in the universities. Closely allied to this type of literature was the interest in the popular preaching of the day. With the establishment of a Church openly declared to be that of the people, men felt that they had a definite privilege to exercise in the matter of expressing their opinion of such preachers as Tyndale. This man, by his tireless efforts in translating the New Testament, succeeded in taking the Bible into homes of all sorts.

Out of this period, then, came a new Church definitely under the domination of the State, and a cult of learning that links English scholars with those of the other nations which had a part in the Renaissance, and that — as its chief literary achievement — evolves a prose style, crude and heavy, but representative of the groping intellectual progress of the nation.

VI

THE AGE OF SHAKESPEARE

The reign of Elizabeth is distinguished for internal order and individual security; for the founding of the colonial system; for a new consideration of the arts; and for the rise of the drama. When Elizabeth came to the throne, England was threatened by division at home over religious matters, and by invasion from without by both France and Spain. The former difficulty was solved by defining for the English Church a course midway between that which would have pleased the Roman Catholics and that which would have pleased the Puritans. Whereas the power of the Pope had been abolished in England, differences in the observance of the forms of worship had been introduced, and definition had been given to many disturbing points of doctrine. The Church of England was not like the Protestant Church of the Continent. The organization of its clergy under bishops and archbishops was nominally the same as it had been when England had considered herself a Catholic country. The dress of the officiating clergyman at service was not changed; indeed, much of the mediæval service was retained. This retention was particularly disagreeable to the Puritans, whose very name came from their constantly reiterated wish for a purer form of worship. They would have welcomed a Reformation that would do away with organized church-government and with ritualistic service; and later they

would have welcomed especially a simpler building in which to carry on their devotions.

This group of people, belonging for the most part to the middle classes, was much in evidence in the south of England. Geographically as well as socially opposed to this group were the nobles, particularly those in the north of England, who were in favor of going back frankly to Catholicism, or at least of restoring to the service whatever of beauty and of majesty had been stripped from it in an effort to simplify it.

In the hope of furthering national unity, Elizabeth insisted upon strict religious observance. Everyone was obliged to attend the church of his parish, under penalty of a shilling fine. Religious regulations were intended to apply to the clergy as well as to the people. For instance, clergymen were forbidden to continue the use of the Latin Mass, which had been reïntroduced in Mary's reign. Important churchmen who declined to comform to the Established usage were deprived of office and new men of a more complaisant nature appointed to their places. In the case of parish priests, however, little pressure was brought to bear. If to all appearances a parish was flourishing and no complaint was made, no interference by the government was offered — with the result that less than twenty per cent of the clergy refused to take the Oath of Supremacy. At the same time that pressure was brought to bear upon the people to make them of one religious mind, the old heresy-laws revived under Mary were repealed, never again to be resurrected. Under a policy actually tolerant, though avowedly severe, a high degree of uniformity was achieved, and any tendency to outrage in the name of religion was checked.

The political situation that threatened England from

QUEEN ELIZABETH

From a Portrait in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

without was not actually solved. Possibly from native shrewdness, more probably from innate procrastination, Elizabeth put off facing political issues. Her marriage would have solved one set of difficulties only to enmesh her in others. Both France and Spain would have welcomed an alliance with England, but the minute that a marriage with one was agreed upon the other would have declared war. The queen knew that England was in no condition to fight; she knew that — after a very brief lapse of time — personal happiness would not follow a marriage with a prince of either nation. For both these reasons she dallied with the idea of an alliance, first with one, then with the other. Not until she was well past forty did she cease her consideration of matrimonial affairs. She would have liked to marry the Earl of Leicester, and England would have been glad to have her marry an Englishman, but this particular man upon whom her fancy lighted had lost his wife, Amy Robsart, under circumstances so unfavorable to his reputation that even a daring and unconventional queen could scarcely entertain seriously the idea of marrying him. In the meantime he had to be content with the knowledge of his preferment, and the French and Spanish governments had to draw what conclusions they would, and devise a course of action that would not estrange the queen beyond the point where they might reasonably hope for success. Spain, who had considered herself the foremost Catholic country of the world, was not at all pleased with the state of religious affairs in England. France, too, had reasons for regarding England with suspicion. She had been wont to interfere in Scotland's behalf when difficulties had arisen between Scotland and England. The present queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, not only had been brought up

in France, but had married the heir to the French throne. When her husband became king of France, Mary Stuart took the title of Queen of Scotland, France, and England. Since her grandmother had been a sister of Henry VIII, Mary had some claim to the English throne, particularly in the eyes of those who had always considered illegal Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth's mother. Such a claim as this, put forward by Mary, did not endear her to Elizabeth. They were nearly of an age, almost matched in shrewdness, but in their attitudes towards their subjects entirely dissimilar. Whereas Mary Stuart used her crown and people to serve her personal ends, Elizabeth used her own position to work for the best interests of her country.

When, upon the death of her husband, Mary Stuart desired to land in England on her way to Scotland, she was refused permission by Elizabeth because she would not sign away her claim to the English throne. Later a rebellion of considerable importance ensued, during which Mary was driven from her country. She abdicated in favor of her son, and sought protection in England. Elizabeth, finding herself somewhat embarrassed at entertaining one who had schemed for the crown of England, decided that the wisest course was to keep Mary confined. In prison Mary still found her talent for plotting useful. More than once she managed to secure the enthusiastic support of Roman Catholics who were anxious to have a Catholic ruler. Her final plot was, however, disastrous. Among the letters that passed between the five chief plotters were some from Mary herself. These plotters — who, though members of the court, had sworn to kill Elizabeth and to liberate Mary — were tried, condemned, and executed. Mary, then, found herself called upon to face a tribunal of the

most important English nobles and to testify concerning her part in this and other plots. She was adjudged guilty of an attempt on the life of the Queen, and was put to death after great hesitation on the part of Elizabeth, who denied that she gave the order for the death-warrant.

Mary, under condemnation of death, had appealed to Philip of Spain to avenge her and to secure the throne of England for her son. So long as Mary lived, the question of the succession of the English throne had remained problematical. With her death, both Spain and France became eager to settle the matter. Moreover, for many years English captains — Drake and Hawkins, among others — had plundered the South American colonies of Spain. Elizabeth with her courtiers had been willing to profit by these escapades if not to authorize them. Finally England aided the Netherlands in their rebellion against Spain. Philip, accordingly, assembled a tremendous fleet and army which he announced were to be used against the Netherlands, but which England rightly understood to be intended to invade her dominion. Drake was canny enough to destroy many vessels of the fleet lying in Cadiz harbor and to escape without harm to himself.

The bulk of the Spanish Armada left early in 1588 for the Netherlands, where a great army was to embark for war in England. Meantime, all sorts of hasty preparations were made by Elizabeth. The militia were summoned and stationed at points along the eastern coast; Drake, Hawkins, and Howard commanded ships that formed a line of defense from Dover to Plymouth. As the fleet came up the Channel, English vessels sallied forth and attacked them from the rear. The heavy, rather awkward Spanish ships were at a disadvantage

before the more agile English craft, which could give battle as they saw fit and withdraw when they deemed it wise. The Armada attempted to anchor at Calais, and might have sustained no irreparable damage had a gale not upset their plans. Unable to make either a French or a Flemish port, they were obliged to seek a homeward route around the north of Scotland and Ireland. This course would at best have been perilous; under the weather conditions and the determined attack of the British it proved disastrous. Of the hundred and more ships that sailed for England scarcely a third returned.

The enthusiasm of the British knew no bounds; men began to boast of the British navy in a fashion that shortly became traditional. Story, song, and verse celebrated the great victory, and stirring patriotism was roused by the pardonable pride in this exploit.

Nor did the patriotic pride wane with the years. Admirers of Great Britain still look back to the "spacious days" of Elizabeth as a time when men's pulses beat high and when courage and daring were commonplace. Charles Kingsley in the nineteenth century celebrated the heroism of English freebooters in *Westward Ho!* Scott in *Kenilworth* portrayed the romantic life of the great Queen. Tennyson in *The Revenge* sang of the noble spirit of Sir Richard Grenville, and Alfred Noyes in *Drake* chanted the romantic exploits of the great Devonshire sailor.

Adding nearly as much lustre to Elizabeth's reign as the defeat of the Armada was the policy of extension of trade and colonization which she instituted. The zeal of English merchants in the search for new markets led them to the New World, where they disposed of manufactured goods and also engaged in the business of selling slaves to Spanish colonists — a trade that

Spain not only resented but forbade. Since Spain would not allow English ships to enter the Mediterranean Sea, a trade route through the White Sea to Russia was established as a means of communication with the East. This route became the almost exclusive property of the Russian Company, a merchant company chartered to trade in Russia and the East. Other trade corporations were similarly established, the most famous among them being the Hudson Bay Company and the East India Company.

At first, exploration was looked upon chiefly from the commercial side. Only a few men, like Sir Walter Raleigh and his half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert, were interested in colonization. Attempts — first by Gilbert and then by Raleigh — were made at various times to settle colonies in America. The most important attempts were made by groups sent to Virginia in 1585 and in 1587, which either perished or returned to England. Though Raleigh lost his fortune in these ventures, he never lost his faith in the possibility of successfully settling America.

Intellectually the men of Elizabeth's time found themselves in a new world. An entirely new style of architecture ushered in new standards of comfort and beauty which penetrated to the humblest buildings. The new style was seen at its finest in the great palaces that were springing up in all parts of England. A large number of these were planned in the shape of an E or an H, the great living-hall forming in the latter case the crossbar of the letter, and in the former the vertical stroke. Whatever the faults of this architecture, it had numerous merits, one being that because of its varied and intricate plans and its roof-lines at various levels, it fitted the English countryside. Built in brick with stone

facing and trimmings, it presented an interesting surface; built in plaster and half-timber it offered a simple and sturdy medium for modest dwellings. The cottages of the period were usually of two stories, the upper, supported by brackets, projecting beyond the lower. Bay windows with attractive lattices and swinging casements afforded the chief architectural ornamentation. Between the two sets of windows the door, protected by a sloping roof or penthouse, divided the façade into two similar parts. The windows in both cottage and palace were larger than those of the mediæval castle, since they were no longer thought to offer a temptation to an enemy. As windows changed under the influence of a pleasing security of life and property, so walls changed, being neither so high and thick nor so unrelieved as formerly. These walls were now invariably broken by the line of chimneys which were used in all dwellings.

Little was attempted in the way of public buildings or churches, most of the authentic Tudor architecture being concerned with dwellings.

More and better furniture appeared. These years give us the highly ornamented and massive tables of great length supported at either end by hurdles, or with bulbous standards — simple products of the turn-lathe decorated with elementary carving. Chairs, from which grew the style now known as Windsor, contributed a great degree of comfort and grace to both humble and pretentious homes. Cupboards, the forerunners of our sideboards, appeared now for the first time, bearing the marks of the new interest in turning and carving shown also in the early four-poster bedsteads.

Rich plate, in quantities that would have startled mediæval barons, was used lavishly by the nobles; the

lower classes used pitchers, plates, and basins of pewter. Exquisite glass-work made its appearance now both for use and for decoration. The Elizabethan moralists com-

Sixteenth-Century Bed

plained that the race was becoming soft through the introduction of new luxuries. To prefer a heated dwelling, and to refuse to board up windows in storms, do not seem to us signs of retrogression; but every age

COSTUMES OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

has looked askance upon the improvements in living-conditions offered it.

Manners began to improve. With the appearance of forks, the custom of dipping meat or bread into gravy with the fingers — which were then wiped upon the clothing — disappeared. Courtliness, at least in outward demeanor, was the rule, though much that was coarse persisted in speech.

The people of this period rather prided themselves upon the ferocity of their emotions. They enjoyed such cruel sports as bear-baiting, and freely admitted their pleasure in such gruesome spectacles as public punishments, which might be lashings administered upon the victim's bare back, or execution by hanging, drawing, and quartering. Their food they demanded highly seasoned and elaborately served in huge quantities. Gilded pastries were not uncommon. Indeed, meat dishes were on the whole so ingeniously contrived that one can almost credit the royal pastry from which, when the king cut into it, the birds began to sing.

Because the dress of the period served as a means of self-expression rather than as a uniform, it was so varied that a complete enumeration of the forms would be impossible. In general it was distinguished by the use of the ruff. The plaited ruff, worn by both men and women, flaring out from the neck to the distance of several inches, was a fad imported from France. In the search for novelty, both the size and the shape of the ruff were changed from time to time. Limp and delicate fabrics were not popular for ruffs until wire props and setting-sticks were invented. It is indicative of the passionate interest in dress and fashionable accessories that Mistress Dinghen, who introduced into England the practice of starching, had no trouble in

securing plenty of pupils to learn the art at five pounds apiece. Nor was her price of twenty shillings for instruction in the boiling of starch considered exorbitant. Ruffs now assumed ridiculous sizes, and became the target for the satire of wits and for the awful warnings of the Puritans, who regarded pride in dress as one of the most heinous forms of vanity.

Not only were women's wardrobes characterized by the use of beautiful materials, but also by the number of the costumes. Exaggerated headdresses, gowns of brocade, metal-embroidered velvets, silks, satins, and furs were the expression of popular fancy in clothes. At one moment sleeves were tight; at the next, loose and flowing; and shortly after, puffed, slashed, and slit. The possibilities latent in sleeves took the fashionable imagination by storm, and curious as well as quaint were the results.

The costumes of the men included feather-decked hats, silken hose, waistcoats in metal-thread embroidery, and fantastically pinked shoes with jeweled buckles. The greater the apparent expense of a costume the greater its social success.

Partly responsible for a lowering of the old caste-lines was this universal desire for gaudy dress. It was not an idle jest that a rich bounder might now easily be mistaken for a gentleman. The old aristocracy of blood and gentle birth was beginning to be displaced by the new aristocracy of wealth and shrewdness. Though Elizabethans might try to stem the tide of this unseemly attitude of the aspiring lower-classes, they could not succeed. Representatives of the conservative nobles of that period have persisted through the intervening centuries in trying to preserve unbroken class-lines, but they have fought an ever losing battle.

The people of this period enjoyed a number of sports, such as hunting, both with small arms and bow and arrow, and with dogs. But the sport that — because it is unknown in our day — is the most fascinating to recall is that of falconry.

For hunting, only such birds as hawks were used. Female birds were preferred. Sometimes the birds were taken from the nest when young (eyases); sometimes they were captured after they had been at large and had learned to hunt for themselves. They had various names, depending upon their age when taken into captivity. The soar hawk — a bird caught between August and November of its first year — was usually considered the best material with which to work, although the haggard — one that had lived at large at least a year — was considered by some authorities the best of all. The problem in each case was to overcome the bird's fear of man. The longer a hawk had been at large, the greater was her fear of human beings, but also the greater her native skill.

It is necessary to understand a few of the technical terms of falconry, because all Elizabethans used those terms in simile and metaphor just as we to-day use figures borrowed from the automobile. Many of the terms come from the process of training the hawk. The first step in her education was the fastening of short straps of leather — called jesses — to her legs. These straps remained always on the bird and were used to secure her to the wrist of the hunter. Sometimes silver rings, within which the owner's name was carved, were fastened to the ends of the jesses. The second process was called the seeling of the hawk. Experience seems to bear out the statements of olden trainers that this process was painless. A needle with fine thread was

passed through the lower lid of one eye, over the head of the bird and through the lower lid of the other eye. When this thread was drawn tight, daylight was excluded. In the training of the bird the thread was gradually loosened day by day. In addition to seeling, a cap was drawn over the head of the bird to ensure perfect darkness, and even after training was considered complete, the hood was generally worn when the bird was at rest upon the hand.

The third process was known as manning the hawk. She was held upon the wrist while her feathers were stroked, until gradually she became accustomed to the close proximity of human beings. Usually a piece of meat was placed on the wrist at the feet of the bird and her first submission was secured through her interest in this bait. Some hawks were impervious to this treatment, either because they had been at large too long, or because they were temperamentally less docile than others. These were given careful attention, never starved, but kept awake until through sheer fatigue they lost their determination not to be tamed. The process of bringing the hawk to her senses through fatigue was a long one, which called for infinite patience. A hawk could go for many nights without sleep, and someone must be ever present to see that she did not snatch a nap.

The fourth process was training in the actual hunt. Usually after a few weeks of training the falcon betrayed no fear of men, or even of dogs, when unhooded in daylight. She wore now — and had perhaps already begun to take pride in — the chime of bells attached to her legs, which was intended to guide the hunter to the place, perhaps a thick covert, where the hawk had brought her quarry to earth. She was still tethered to

the wrist of the hunter by a long line, lest she feel some inclination to revert to her wild life. At first she was flown at the lure, a dead bird or the effigy of a bird. After she had become used to finding the lure and to remaining by it even when the hunter approached, she was flown at the quarry itself. And then, depending upon her strength and skill, she was trained to one of two different types of hunting. If she was very swift and powerful of wing, she might be flown from the wrist of the hunter as the game was flushed. If, on the other hand, she was very docile and exceedingly skilful, the hawk was flown at a great height above her master's head while game was flushed by dogs or by the hunter. She was trained to wait until the game appeared, and then to drop like a plummet upon it.

Scarcely any other sport seems to have furnished such a wealth of picturesque and colorful detail as falconry. The student who would grasp how intimate a part of Elizabethan life was this sport, has only to realize that the whole plan of the *Taming of the Shrew* was analogous to the training of the hawk.

The people of this period had intellectual as well as social interests. Whole volumes were written upon witchcraft, much as to-day they would be devoted to psychoanalysis. Almost everybody believed in witchcraft, although its practice and vogue were greatest among the ignorant. Women more often than men were supposed to be witches. The suspected character was usually old, friendless, shrunken with age, or misshapen through accident or disease. She was supposed to have renounced God and to have formed an alliance with the devil. Each witch was attended by her familiar — the spirit who served her pleasure. This spirit ordinarily took the form of an animal, the most popular

being that of a black cat; it might, however, be a toad or a snake. Among the powers possessed by witches was that of assuming animal shapes. The distinguishing feature between a witch in animal disguise and a real animal was the fact that in the former case some essential member would be missing.[1]

Another power possessed by witches was control of wind and weather; yet another, that of transportation through the air upon a broomstick. The most horrible of the powers ascribed them was the ability to cause a wasting fever to take possession of their enemies. The witch made a small waxen image, named it for her victim, and then she either melted it slowly before the fire, — in which case the death of the victim took place when the wax was completely melted, — or else she stuck the image full of pins, whereupon death was caused by extreme pain. The supposed power of conveying disease or pain by the glance of the eye — called the evil eye — was more common on the Continent than in England.

A test for witchcraft was imperative. The commonest was to toss the suspected creature into a pond. If she sank she was innocent; if she floated she was a witch.

Not less popular than the delusion concerning witches was that concerning ghosts. The Elizabethans recognized three classes of ghosts, including the only kind that most modern people are willing to credit, that of the purely subjective ghost, or vision. The other two

[1] See the speech of the First Witch in *Macbeth*, Act I, Sc. III: —

> Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the Tiger;
> But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
> And like a rat without a tail,
> I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do.

classes were: first, authentic ghosts; and, second, wicked or false ghosts. Authentic ghosts were the spirits of people who had died without leisure to repent of sin, or without means of conveying important or necessary news to those near and dear, or who could not rest because they had been murdered by one who remained unpunished. The false ghosts are difficult to define, because they included so many different types of manifestations. It was thought to be a prankish delight of the devil to assume the shape of a person lately dead and in this guise appear to relatives and incite them to some deed which — if consummated — would entail the forfeiture of their souls.

Thus it will be seen that some nicety of distinction was called for when the gentleman of the sixteenth century saw a ghost — as he frequently did. It is the difficulty of deciding between the last two classes of ghosts that causes Hamlet to weigh his actions, and to appear, in the eyes of those untrained in Elizabethan lore, as a weak coward.

Magic, white as well as black, played its part in the superstitions of the day. The black was chiefly the property of the witches; the white was that gracious dispensation of power by which saints and angels wrought their miracles of healing, and by which demons were exorcised.

Science was in a rudimentary state. A forerunner of chemistry existed in the form of alchemy, a kind of chemistry so mixed with magic that it is difficult to know where even the ancients believed fact to end and fancy to begin. Alchemists believed firmly in the possibility of transmuting baser metals into gold and silver. They were constantly upon the hunt for the "philosopher's stone," which would make the transformation

possible. Alchemy in a crude way interested itself in healing, but again allied itself with magic and astrology.

Astrology purported to foretell coming events through observing the position of the stars. Each had a definite and different effect upon human affairs. Thus the expression arose, "born under a certain star." From one's horoscope — the position of the stars at one's birth — it was possible to forecast one's whole life. The star in the ascendant, that is, rising at the time of one's birth, was supposed to exert the most potent influence of all.

Medicine was in such an elementary state that it could hardly be called a science at all. It rested upon a physiology which was, as might be expected, thoroughly false and which assumed all matter to be composed of four elements: earth, water, air, and fire. Each of these elements was characterized as hot or cold, wet or dry. Earthy and watery things were cold, gross, and material; airy and fiery things were hot, intangible, and spiritual. So a poet writes of the dramatist Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593): "His raptures were all air and fire." The body was supposed to be made up of four moistures or "humors": melancholy, phlegm, blood, and choler. We still use these terms figuratively in speaking of melancholy, of a phlegmatic temperament, and of a choleric man.

The belief in humors had a great influence upon literature. A man who was dominated by any one humor was regarded as abnormal in some respect. Ben Jonson (1573–1637) portrayed people of this type in his comedies, such as *Every Man in his Humour*. His comedies were very popular, and the "comedy of humours" became firmly established. Later the word "humor" came to have its present definition, probably because

abnormal people afford amusement to the well-balanced critic.

The doctrine of personal revenge was popular. Instead of waiting for the state to punish a criminal, the family or friends of the injured person were supposed to take justice into their own hands and punish the wrongdoer. Such action was imperative in the case of murder. A man who would not avenge his father's murder was considered a most loathsome coward. The proper vengeance was, of course, death in as painful a form as possible, and in such a manner that the murderer should have no time to repent. Most of the sweetness of revenge was lost if the opportunity for repentance was given, since repentance meant freedom from punishment in hell or purgatory.

Such primitive methods of revenge were reflected in the dire penalties inflicted for small crimes. The theft of goods worth five shillings entailed death, as did scores of other petty crimes; though this severe punishment, so far from discouraging crime, seems actually to have fostered it.

Among the early Elizabethans was Edmund Spenser, who lived from 1552 to 1599. He was the conservative court-poet who wanted to go back to the life of Chaucer's time, and who satisfied this desire by writing and spelling as much like Chaucer as possible. *The Faery Queen* is the work for which he is most famous. In allegorical fashion it recites the triumph of virtue over vice. Certain passages seem to be designed to flatter Elizabeth: Arthur, who rescues the queen in the poem, is Leicester, whom Elizabeth loved best of all her courtiers. Una is supposed to represent the Protestant Church, Duessa the Catholic Church. Without doubt the Red Cross Knight is Sidney. *The Faery Queen* is

also noteworthy because it was written in a new stanza-form, ever afterward known as Spenserian.

Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* exerted a great and indisputable influence upon Milton. It consists of twelve eclogues or pastoral poems, each designed for a particular month of the year. They are varied in form and show great ability in experimentation as well as a growing surety of composition. Men in Elizabeth's time began to take an interest in elegant, dilettante poetry, polished in technique and delicately flavored with emotion. An attitude different from that of any previous time was assumed by the court poets of the period. Perhaps because of the serious interest aroused through the Renaissance in everything classical, they sought to prove that English literature might be as noble as classical literature. They felt the surest method of proof lay in imitating such writers as Theocritus and Vergil. Among the most successful imitators was Spenser, who caught not only the metres and rhythms of Greece and Rome, but also much of the spirit which pervades the pastoral poetry of these countries.

Sonnet cycles became popular during Spenser's lifetime as another phase of dilettante verse. Like all Elizabethan lyric-poetry, these cycles were written with careful attention to their possibilities as songs. Suitable music, to fit the somewhat plaintive emotion considered the correct note in sonnet-writing, was of great interest to most poets of the period. Spenser's lovely *Amoretti* sonnets, written to his Elizabeth, furnish us with an important page in the history of the sonnet, as well as with a fund of enjoyment. He wrote also — on the death of his friend, Sidney — an exquisite elegy called *Astrophel* which is inseparable in the minds of lovers of Sidney from that courtier's own sonnets to Stella.

Sir Philip Sidney, the *beau idéal* of the Elizabethan court, was born in 1554 and died in the service of his country in 1586. He died as one who had chosen him for the hero of a romance would have wished him to die, refusing with his last breath a drink of water, that a desperately wounded soldier lying near him might have it. His courtliness, his great-hearted unselfishness, his gentle and unaffected manners, made him loved by a wide circle of men. As he himself surmised, his contribution to letters was not great, but there are in his sonnets to Stella many lines that might well inspire sighs of youthful sympathy for a jilted poet. His pastoral romance, *Arcadia*, became so popular that it was widely imitated. His *Apology for Poetry* was one of the first coolly critical essays in English. This *Apology* was written to answer charges brought by the Puritans, who asserted that the poetry of the period ministered only to sensual pleasures.

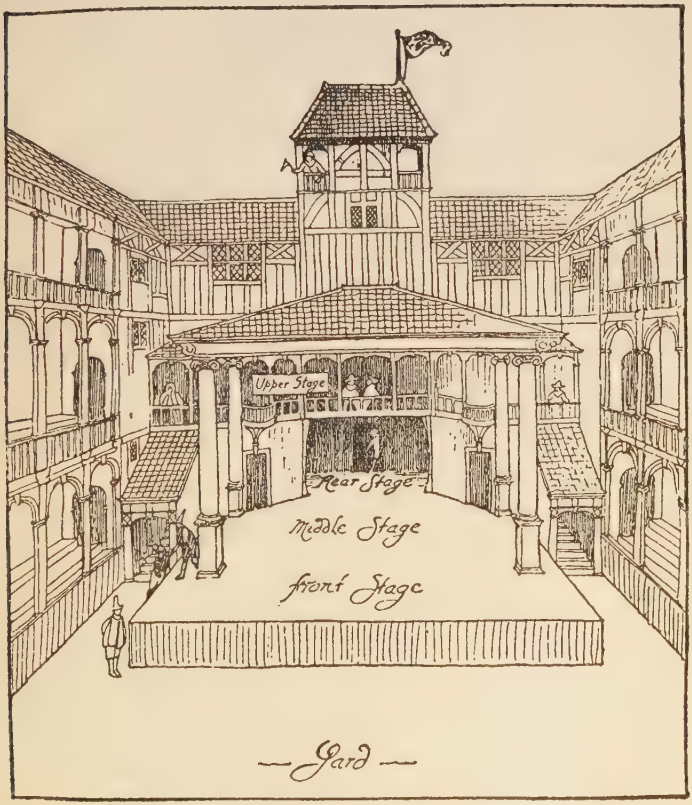
The great indoor amusement of the Elizabethans was the drama. Beginning in the church, drama was later taken up by wandering companies of players. These companies fell into disrepute because their mode of life enabled them to commit crimes and to make off without suffering the penalties usually exacted of wrongdoers. Because of the reputation of these companies a stigma was attached to the actors of the time, from which the profession has — to a certain degree — suffered ever since. Though the Elizabethans would have been bankrupt of amusement without the drama, they regarded all actors as potential criminals. They even framed a law, which was written into the statutes of the time, making any actor liable to arrest for no offense save that of being an actor. To this attitude of disapproval the Puritans lent the full vigor of their support, freely speaking of the

drama as the invention of the devil, with the actors as his special instruments.

The first theatre was erected in London by James Burbage. For this building there remain no plans, and little description beyond the fact that it was circular in shape, with one segment walled off as a "tiring house" or dressing-room, to correspond to the section of the inn-yards which wandering players screened off for the same purpose. For later theatres, such as the Fortune, there are plans of some accuracy still extant. From these we learn that the balcony of the wandering players became a very necessary adjunct of the stage, serving now for the battlements of a city, and again for the upper story of a house. Possibly when not requisitioned for dramatic purposes it housed nobles and other favored guests. It may also be that there was below this upper stage a curtained recess that served Juliet for her bedroom when she drank the sleeping-potion. Forward, and on either side of this curtained recess, were doors that allowed entrances to and exits from the main stage. Further forward were four pillars to support the roof that covered two thirds of the main stage. Stages of to-day would be less than a third the depth of this of the Fortune theatre.

Critics are beginning to believe that the quantity of properties used by Elizabethan play-producers was greater than was formerly supposed. The idea that signs were set up to indicate changes of scene would seem to be erroneous, except in rare cases where a constantly shifting scene would have confused the audience. Most of the properties were symbolical: for instance, an altar was used to suggest the interior of a church; benches usually indicated a scene in a house; the addition of a table set with flagons informed the astute that

an inn was represented. We find references in the wills of actors and managers to such properties as "mossy banks" and "trees."



THE FORTUNE THEATRE STAGE

Nobles often sat upon the stage itself, which, being much larger than that of to-day, could accommodate them with less inconvenience to the actors than would now be the case. Unfortunately, these intruders thought that the

more they interfered with the progress of the play, the more aristocratic and clever they were. They therefore became a great nuisance and were bitterly resented by the decent element in the audience. There were benches in the balconies that ran around the sides of the theatre, to accommodate the better class of the patrons who were not privileged to sit on the stage. The poorer class stood in the "pit," where the "orchestra circle" is now located.

Prices of admission varied, but allowing for the difference in the purchasing power of money, they were not in the sixteenth century less than now. Prices at the private theatres were higher than those at the public theatres because the audience was limited by the smaller size of the buildings, because the lighting was artificial and therefore expensive, and because all the audience were seated.

Women, then as now, used the theatre as a place in which to display their new costumes. They often wore masks, which shielded their faces from the scrutiny of coarse jesters in the audience, and which gave them some fancied protection from the embarrassment attendant upon the frequently unpleasant language of the stage.

Performances began at two or three in the afternoon, after the midday meal. About an hour before the time, a flag bearing the insignia of the theatre was run up the flag pole. At the Blackfriars Theatre the hour preceding the performance was enlivened with music. Sometimes music was played between the acts, giving us the source of the custom in our own theatres.

It is well to summarize here the development of the English drama from its beginning in the tenth century to its height of unexampled power and beauty in the sixteenth century.

Modern drama began, as has already been pointed out, in brief additions to the church service, especially at Easter. These additions, sometimes called *tropes*, were in Latin. They began about the year 900. After a time the tropes were expanded into short Latin plays, first given as part of the service, and then by themselves. Some time about the twelfth century these plays became so popular that they were performed outside the churches. The interest in them, however, soon ceased to be exclusively religious and, with the addition of comedy and even burlesque, they finally lost their religious character.

In the fourteenth century we find religious plays in the hands of trade guilds, who performed them at festivals in cycles or groups of plays, dramatizing scenes from the Old and New Testaments. These we call *mystery* or *miracle* plays.

In the middle of the fourteenth century we find the first reference to a *morality* play, that is, a dramatized allegory in which the characters are virtues, vices, and other human qualities. Moralities were the common type of play after the beginning of the sixteenth century; but these plays were varied by farces, especially those written by John Heywood (*c.* 1497–1580).

The most important influence upon the growing drama of the sixteenth century was the realization that the plays of the ancient Romans, which Renaissance scholars were introducing into the schools, could be acted. The Roman comic writers, Plautus and Terence, and the tragic writer, Seneca, became models for imitation and adaptation. The comedies of Plautus and Terence gave English comedy the idea of a clear and coherent plot, of the division into five acts, and of a large number of standard characters such as the braggart, the parasite,

the young lovers, and the tricky slave; also a large number of standard plots and devices, such as the use of disguise, mistaken identity, and far-fetched coincidences. The tragedies of Seneca, which were themselves imitations of Greek tragedy, gave English tragedy the idea of dramatic unity, of plots based upon horrible stories of sin and revenge, and of highly rhetorical style. The first comedy built upon the classical model was *Ralph Roister Doister*, by Nicholas Udall (1505–1556); the first Senecan tragedy was *Gorboduc*, by Sackville and Norton (1561).

By the close of the sixteenth century all sorts of experiments were being tried in English drama. All was ready for the coming of a real genius who should show the way to genuine dramatic art. Such a man was Christopher Marlowe whose *Tamburlaine* (1587) brought to the drama a type of tragedy which became highly popular — a series of scenes connected with the life of some hero, full of characters, packed with action, and swelling into noble verse. Marlowe popularized the glowing ardor of the Renaissance, its enthusiasm and extravagance, and, above all, its tremendous intellectual unrest. He says: —

> Nature that framed us of four elements
> Warring within our breasts for regiment,
> Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds;
> Our souls whose faculties can comprehend
> The wondrous architecture of the world,
> And measure every wandering planet's course,
> Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
> And always moving as the restless spheres,
> Will us to wear ourselves and never rest.

Associated with Marlowe are the names of other dramatists: Peele, Greene, Lyly, Nashe, Kyd, and Dekker, all of whom worked feverishly, often in collabora-

tion, to produce the greatest possible number of dramatic novelties for the stage. The audience was limited, and the demand for variety insatiable. The theatre was newspaper, magazine, book, and motion picture all in one to the Elizabethan audiences, and playwrights worked fast and took advantage of every chance item of popular interest. If an idea caught the public taste, it was immediately copied. Old plays were reworked, popular Italian stories were dramatized, English history was ransacked for dramatic themes, and the interest in Greek and Roman times was exploited to the full.

At the close of the sixteenth century there came to the busy life of the London theatres young William Shakespeare of Stratford, destined to be supreme in his own day and for centuries to come; a partaker in the wild and dissolute life of the writers of the day, and yet seemingly unstained by it; a purveyor to popular taste with the common themes, from which he fashioned enduring literature.

He was the son of John Shakespeare, — a not uncommon name in Warwickshire, — who had achieved sufficient worldly success as a wool merchant to apply for and finally to receive a coat of arms. The birth of Shakespeare is assigned to the twenty-third of April, 1564. He is supposed to have attended the grammar school of Stratford, where, because of his father's position, he could have secured free tuition. Here he learned the "small Latin and less Greek" which Ben Jonson ascribed to him.

In 1582 he was married to Anne Hathaway, a woman eight years older than he; and very shortly after this he went to London. Tradition declares that he had been apprehended for poaching on the estate of Sir Thomas

Lucy, and that, outraged at the indignities put upon him for this offense, he left Stratford.

By 1593, upon the publication of the poem, *Venus and Adonis*, he was an acknowledged literary figure. The following year he became a member of the theatrical company of which he afterward was the leader. This company included Burbage, the actor for whom the part of Hamlet is said to have been created. Of the interval between Shakespeare's coming to London and this emergence into the important dramatic life of the city, we know little. There are legends of his holding horses for the patrons of the theatre, of his organizing a group of horse-boys, and finally of his promotion to the position of call-boy in the theatre. We know that in 1594 he took part in the plays which were presented before the Queen at Christmas. We also have references to his father's financial disasters, which were, however, successfully adjusted.

Shakespeare began his career as a dramatist by revamping old plays. *Richard III* was probably written in collaboration with Christopher Marlowe. From the influence of Marlowe he quickly broke, but never to the end of his life did he cease to turn to old plays and old stories for the plots of his own.

We may divide his plays roughly into four groups, the first including those written in the years between his coming to London and 1595. To this period belong *Richard III*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. This is sometimes called the period of experimentation; certainly it bears, as one would expect, the marks of a young man's interests: the pleasure in oratory which was common at the time, youthful zest in flowery expression, hot passion, loud boasts, and intricate situations. Such a character as Romeo belongs with

Interior of Anne Hathaway's Cottage at Shottery

these youthful outpourings; but so far as publication goes, *Romeo and Juliet* belongs to the second group, 1595 to 1600, among which are *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, and *Henry IV*. These are remarkable for a surer hand in plot-building, a wider and better knowledge of human nature, and an increased power in the use of unrhymed iambic pentameter. Rhyming is less frequent, usually indicating a change of thought, or the conclusion of a speech, scene, or act. A greater variety in the arrangement of the line is noticeable, and the beginning of the use of such devices as overflow or the "run-on" line.

The next period, 1600 to 1607, gives us the greatest of all Shakespeare's works. It seems to have been a time of great personal unhappiness, attributed by some to the political reverses of his intimate friends, the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Essex. Whatever the sorrow, it is richly shrined in the last great comedy, *Twelfth Night*, in the *Sonnets*, with their unabashed expression of personal grief and disappointment, and in *Othello*, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*, which Englishmen and all who speak the tongue like to think the finest examples in the world of what constitutes human tragedy.

The last period of Shakespeare's life, a haven of refuge after stressful vicissitudes, brings us plays marked with "adversity's sweet milk, philosophy": *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and *Cymbeline*. These do not, however, measure up to the standard of the preceding group; they seem indicative of further experimentation in capturing public approval.

In 1611 Shakespeare sold his interest in the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres and returned to Stratford for a few years of more quiet life. He died there on the

anniversary of his birth, in 1616. He was buried in the little church by the Avon. His bones were never removed to Westminster Abbey — where many of England's most famous men are buried — because of the warning inscription on his tombstone: —

> Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbeare
> To digg the dust enclosed heare;
> Bleste be the man that spares these stones,
> And curst be he that moves my bones.

Shakespeare seems to have shown no interest in the publication of his plays. In his day playwrights sold their plays to theatrical companies much as motion-picture scenarios are now sold. Shakespeare's poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, were issued apparently under his supervision and were carefully printed. The copies of his plays which appeared in his lifetime, known as quartos, — from the size of the page, — are often crudely printed and sadly inaccurate in text. They were probably either sold by the theatrical company when their novelty had worn off, or were printed from faulty stenographic copies made while the play was being performed. In some cases, too, they may have been surreptitious copies of prompt-books.

It should also be remembered that the business of printing and publishing was then in what we should consider a chaotic state. Transcriptions of an author's work were often made while the manuscript was being set up. Although the practice was considered then as illegal as now, it was difficult to detect and still harder to prosecute with success. After getting possession of a manuscript, the publisher would enter it at Stationers' Hall, a process equivalent to copyrighting. If not a printer himself, the publisher would then hire a printer

to put the matter into type. This printer might in turn let out the work to a journeyman printer, or he might allow compositors to set up the forms at their homes, he himself doing only the actual printing. During the time of printing, the author would frequently appear at the printer's shop to read the proofs and require corrections. Thus crept in some of the inconsistencies occurring in the same edition. Editors or professional correctors of material seem never to have attained in England anything like the position of importance which they had on the Continent — probably because of the English writers' desire for economy.

Editions of these early works were small, not over twelve hundred and fifty copies being printed for exceedingly popular works, with the exception of school texts for which there was known to be a steady demand. These might run to double the number or more.

The first reliable edition — known to us as the First Folio — of Shakespeare's plays was the collected edition edited by two of his friends and published in 1623, seven years after his death. Because of this method of publication, the exact text of Shakespeare's plays can never be definitely settled, though scholars have accepted some readings of disputed passages as more authoritative than others.

In scope the work of the Elizabethan dramatists was such that other than journalistic methods were impossible. The speed of their composition was, moreover, incompatible with scholarly aims. They sought the same audience, often with the same devices, as the modern Sunday newspaper-supplement. Italian influence made popular the sensational, highly colored, greatly intensified love-story such as that which formed the basis of *Romeo and Juliet*. Like all who write to capture

a great and varied public, they considered the originality of their material more important than the novelty of its form.

Both Shakespeare and Marlowe worked in the interests of public amusement. The business of the theatre of their day was similar to the motion-picture industry of our time. The professions of playwright and actor enjoyed the same suspicion that now attaches to the less desirable element in motion-picture colonies. Shakespeare's position in the dramatic world of 1600 is paralleled to-day by that of David Wark Griffith, for instance. Though Shakespeare may have seemed to his contemporaries as little of a literary figure as Cecil B. de Mille seems to his, nevertheless critical analysis of his plays would have revealed to the discriminating, then as now, the force of his dramatic structure, the beauty of his medium. Discerning criticism, however, was not applied to the plays in his lifetime because the æsthetes of the period felt that plays could not be literature. Such was the attitude of Ben Jonson's friends, who ridiculed him for wishing to publish his works.

But when all has been said, there remains this distinction between Shakespeare and the producers of the present time — that he possessed sufficient genius to ennoble the kind of work to which he set his hand, to reflect the whole gamut of worldly experience in the specific cases of which he wrote, to touch the springs of the commonplace that make the whole world kin.

Though, in the centuries that intervene between Shakespeare and our time, English has grown simpler in expression, though many words familiar to the Elizabethans have disappeared, grammatical changes have been slight. The barrier between the twentieth-century student and Shakespearean literature is less real than im-

aginary. It consists somewhat in the fact that the great minds of all times have never been obvious in the expression of their ideas, and somewhat in the fact that great poetry is always the sum of human experience condensed and — for purposes of emphasis — exaggerated. Once these points are grasped, there is no difficulty in reading Shakespeare. One of the most striking pleasures in any literary experience, that of recognition, exists in Shakespeare to an extent unequaled in other writers. Behind kingly kings and loyal servants, behind crafty monarchs and treacherous menials, there are a moral sanity and a clear recognition of what constitutes actual values in the complex business of living.

As we look back upon the age of Elizabeth we are conscious of certain outstanding features. It was, first of all, an age of change and expansion. Within the lifetime of Shakespeare the religion of England changed from something close to Catholicism to something close to Puritanism. Within his lifetime England changed from a position of comparative isolation and international insignificance to a position of proud national strength, capable of resisting on the sea the full strength of Spain, then the dominant European Power. In the years of his residence in London England's commerce grew apace. Daring sea-rovers carried her flag round the world and made her a nation to be feared on the high seas.

Nor were this change and expansion only material. In the realm of ideas, especially in literature, men were as daring as in exploration. Nothing seemed beyond their grasp. It was a time of soaring ambitions and imaginations, kindled by the ardent flame of the Renaissance.

It was, moreover, a time of recklessness and extrava-

gance, of display and ostentation. Crime and vice walked through the streets; violence and brutality were common to all classes. The emotions of men were unchecked by repression; England was still Merrie England in feeling, in sports, in amusements, and in pageantry. The solid citizen growing rich by trade, who looked askance at the roistering haunters of playhouses and taverns, was sneered at as a Puritan. Shakespeare's audiences fully approved of this passage in *Twelfth Night:* —

MARIA. Marry, sir, sometimes he [Malvolio] is a kind of puritan.

SIR ANDREW. O, if I thought that, I'd beat him like a dog!

It was a time of superstition and credulity. Witches, demons, and magicians were regarded as having real power. Science, as we know it, did not exist. Books were, according to our standards, comparatively few. Opportunities for education were — for the average man — extremely meagre. The sense of historical fact and the perspective gained by a knowledge of science were only rudimentary — for the ordinary man, nonexistent.

It was a time when few people questioned that the power held by the Queen and her court was divinely ordained. Classes and privileges were accepted as the normal order of life. "Good Queen Bess" embodied, as no sovereign since her time, the national spirit of England.

Yet beneath all this exterior, often flaunting, sordid, brutal, and even childish, there was the solid strength of fine English manhood and womanhood. Courage, courtesy, patriotism, modesty, sweetness, and unselfish-

ness could never have been so beautifully portrayed by Shakespeare and his contemporaries had these qualities not been present in English life. There was enough and to spare of gracious, high-minded honor and of clear, sunlit happiness to carry England over many rough places in the years to come.

VII

THE AGE OF MILTON

Upon the death of Elizabeth, James VI of Scotland — the son of Mary, Queen of Scots — became James I of England, thus uniting the Scottish and English thrones. He is important as the first of the Stuarts, and as the valiant champion of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. According to this doctrine, the king was responsible neither to his people nor to Parliament, but to God alone, whose accredited agent he was, and whose will, while properly obscure to ordinary mortals, was necessarily crystal-clear to a king. Many clergymen concurred in this teaching. Like the other Stuarts who followed him, James was well-educated, and astonishingly apt in antagonizing his subjects. He possessed no intuition as to popular trends of thought and, because of his exalted ideas of kingly infallibility, he never bothered to discover whether or not his views were shared by his subjects.

His son Charles I, who followed him, found even greater difficulty in believing himself to be in error, or in respecting those who differed from him. Like James, he felt that Parliament existed for the purpose of offering advice which the sovereign might accept or reject at will, and for the vastly more important purpose of granting money to the king. Nevertheless, he was forced to accede to the demands of Parliament embodied

in the Petition of Right, which provided that soldiers should no longer be billeted in private homes except during times of war; that trial by martial law, taxes not sanctioned by Parliament, and imprisonment without a definite charge were all illegal measures. As with the *Magna Charta*, the historic significance of this document lies in the fact that it was wrested from a protesting sovereign. It was, moreover, the forerunner of those bitter differences between Charles and his Parliament which led to his execution. No sooner had the Petition of Right been signed, than difficulties arose over the question of revenue. At the convening of Parliament in 1629 matters came to a head when a leading member of Parliament — while the Speaker of the House was forcibly kept in his seat — read a paper declaring that the collection of revenue without Parliamentary permission was an act of treachery.

Charles was so infuriated by this high-handed procedure that he dissolved Parliament at once, and set up a personal government which for a time appeared successful. He formulated what he took to be a very clever scheme for raising money, not only for the sorely impoverished navy, but for his own needs: a scheme that went by the name of Ship Money. An ancient custom had compelled seaport towns to furnish the ships necessary for national safety, or in lieu of ships, the money with which to build them. In 1634 Charles revived this custom, aware of the fact that the little seaport towns could no longer build the ships now used in the navy. They could and did, however, respond generously with money. When dissatisfaction arose over this tax, the King took the position that it was not really a tax, but a form of military service which, by his feudal rights, he was empowered to

demand. Hampden, a wealthy landowner, who saw in the King's course an effort to act independently of Parliament, refused to pay his tax.[1] The twelve justices who presided over his trial divided in their decision, seven siding with the King and five with Hampden. But the people, believing that the narrow margin of the King's victory indicated the justice of Hampden's cause, were jubilant over the disagreement.

The Long Parliament, called by Charles in 1640 for the purpose of granting him funds, turned out to be the body destined to try, convict, and execute him.

The beginning of civil war came over the question of the militia. England at the time had no standing army. Parliament, which had followed pretty much its own devices, drew up a bill specifying that the control of the militia was to lie in the hands of a general appointed by Parliament. When Charles refused to sign this bill, both houses instructed county officers appointed by Parliament to take charge of matters of defense. When Charles was refused access to the arms and ammunition stored in Hotham Castle, he rode to Nottingham, set up his standard, and called upon all loyal men to rally to his side.

Parliament recognized the situation as war, put its affairs into the hands of the Earl of Essex, and strove to get control of the navy. Not all of the House of Commons, and less than a majority of the House of Lords, were in sympathy with the policy of opposing the King with violence. Scotland assisted the cavalry

[1] *Cf.* Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard:" —

Some village Hampden, that, with dauntless breast,
The little tyrant of his fields withstood,
Some mute, inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood.

King Charles's Tower, Chester

under Oliver Cromwell in defeating the Royalists, the supporters of Charles. Cromwell from the first believed that success was dependent upon interesting in the army men of religious fervor. Upon this basis of selection was formed his invincible cavalry troop known as the Ironsides.

In 1646, after the battle of Naseby where the King's forces were routed, Charles gave himself up and was imprisoned. Inasmuch as Charles had never been a person upon whose word much reliance could be placed, the people became restive over the long negotiations between him and Parliament. They feared, with justice, that some fortuitous event might restore him to complete power — a fear that was Charles's dearest wish. He found, no doubt, some encouragement in the dissension between Parliament and the army. The former, now that the war was over, desired to disband the army; but the army refused to disband under the terms offered. Their pay was in arrears, and they were to be held liable for acts committed during the war. Cromwell tried to keep peace between the two factions, since he was both a member of Parliament and the most powerful general in the army. He met with little success. The army took things into its own hands when it became evident in 1648 that Parliament was ready to effect a reconciliation with the King. When Parliament convened, soldiers were stationed at the doors to keep away all members known to be favorable to Charles. The remainder — called the Rump Parliament — declared themselves the highest tribunal in England, elected a High Court of Justice, and brought the King to trial in Westminster Hall. They found him guilty of treason and condemned him to death. He was executed at Whitehall, January 30, 1649.

A large number of people, perhaps the majority of citizens, were shocked at the temerity of taking the life of a king. Moreover, Charles's courage, so gay and infectious, his self-control that approached stoicism, his power of winning friends to fanatical devotion, built up — almost before his spirit had passed — a glorified ideal of him. This ideal fostered a love for his son Charles who had been forced to flee, a love which in time grew so powerful that it restored to the second Charles the father's throne.

Nevertheless, among those who had been responsible for the death of the King there was no change of heart. Parliament declared itself the sole representative of the people and the sole power in England. Rarely was the advice or consent of the House of Lords sought, and the army was equally ignored. A plan of purely democratic government was drawn up and England was declared a Commonwealth. Between the army and Parliament, Cromwell and Fairfax — members of the Council of State — served as a bond.

Later, by his successful campaigns against the Scotch and the Irish, Cromwell became the most important and powerful man in England. He was by nature fitted to rule. He was unquestionably sincere and high-minded in his undertakings. As a statesman he was slow and shrewd, possessed of considerable breadth of mind and tolerance. He was incurably practical in his outlook upon affairs, and in this quality lay the cause of his downfall.

Cromwell had grown tired of the policy of the Long Parliament. When he learned that they planned to pass a bill for the perpetuation of their membership in the following Parliament, he used the most practical means at his disposal to prevent the success of the bill. He took a body of soldiers with him to the meeting, —

eventually using them to clear the Hall of Parliament, — ordered the door locked, and declared the Council of State dissolved.

He undoubtedly wished to be neither arbitrary nor despotic, nor did he crave the powers of a tyrant. He tried to gather a group of moderate, religious-minded men to carry on the government in ways that would be agreeable to the army. The project failed, and the Little Parliament — the members of which had held commissions signed by Cromwell as their only credentials for office — dissolved, declaring all power to lie in Cromwell's hands. Later an instrument of government was drawn up which gave legal standing to Cromwell as Lord Protector of England. This position differed little from that of king. Cromwell was, indeed, asked to take the title of king, but this he refused.

The five years of his rule demonstrated that in England no government was then practical which was not administered by some one dominating personality. At Cromwell's death, after his son Richard had shown himself unable to take the father's place, the survivors of the Long Parliament met, formally dissolved, and left England free to elect a new Parliament, one that was in fact destined to call back from exile the son of Charles I.

It was during these troubled years that Puritanism reached its climax. Puritanism was a rebirth of morality, similar to the rebirth of learning in the previous century. The Renaissance in the southern countries of Europe had not been accompanied by an awakening of spiritual values. It had been essentially pagan in its interests. But in the north of Europe and in England the Renaissance had been followed by a great interest in a purer form of religion. This desire for reformation

had not been confined to any one creed. In England, as on the Continent, it numbered in its ranks many Catholics; in England, many members of the Established Church as well; everywhere, as with all good movements, it numbered also fanatics. The best minds of England were without doubt interested in the movement, though not all were willing to leave the Established Church. The aims of Puritanism were not those usually ascribed to it. Our mistaken ideas of it arise from the fact that we are likely to judge the movement by its most spectacular and fanatic following rather than by the sane rank-and-file.

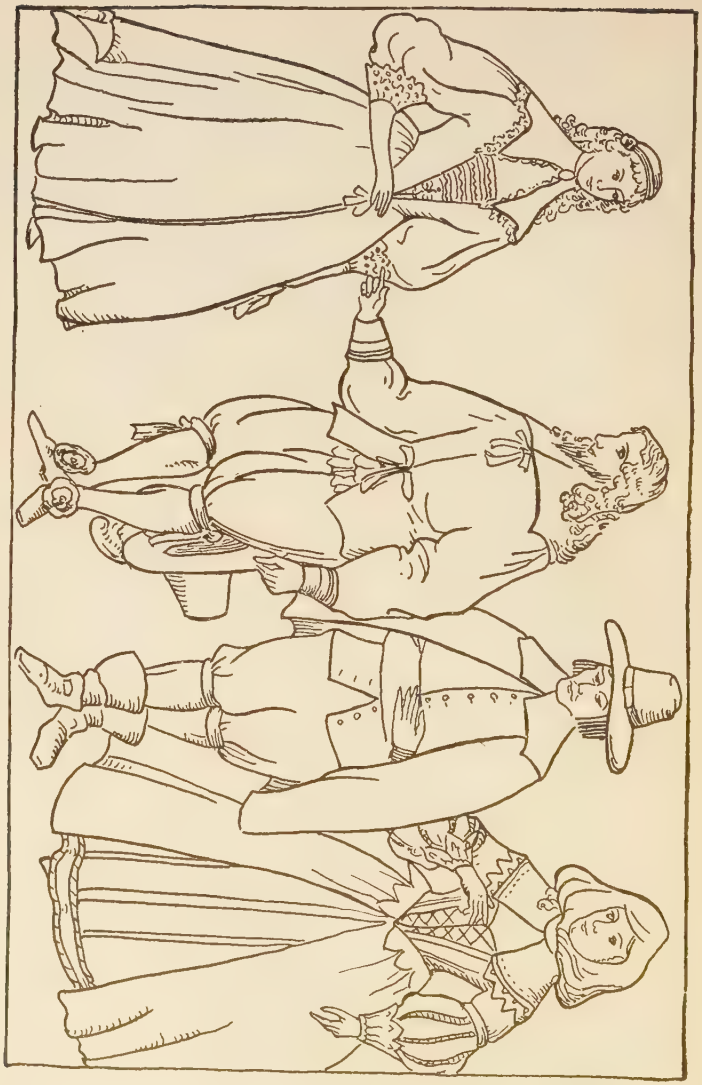
In addition to the familiar aim of personal morality, it had the wider aim of personal and political freedom. The Puritans were, however, neither a religious sect nor a political party, though their aims were religious in the sense that they desired to make mankind moral, and political in that they desired to make mankind free. Not all Puritans were narrow-minded and gloomy. Such ideas come to us from the gayly flung sneers of the Royalists, who made fashionable the ridicule and reviling of anything connected with the movement. While the brilliant court reveled in pleasant and extravagant gayeties, the Puritans were busily engaged in fighting for personal liberty. Small wonder perhaps that some of them forgot that gayety had a legitimate place in life, when they saw it the chief concern of untrustworthy, dissolute courtiers.

Religiously as well as politically the age was one of upheaval. Both the Catholic Church and the Established Church had inculcated ideas that died hard. The aim of the former had been a world-wide Church with representatives in every corner of the globe, and with a closely articulated government functioning accurately

and powerfully. This ideal had been somewhat dimmed in England by the Established Church, the aims of which were national rather than universal. To this latter ideal many Protestants clung, in the belief that all sects, from Calvinists and strict Separatists to Scotch Covenanters, might be united in one body — a national Church. With the final disillusionment concerning the practicability of this plan came unrest and dissension between the sects.

The literature of the reign of James I shows much of the power of Elizabethan days. But it very definitely reflects also a new note of intellectual questioning. Men were turning from the old enthusiasms, from romance and adventure, and from the lure of untraveled paths. England was becoming more serious and settled; the emotional spontaneity of the Renaissance was disappearing. Chief among the writers of the early seventeenth century are Ben Jonson and Francis Bacon. Both these men brought to literature the minds of intellectual giants, and both lacked the charm and the humanity which make Elizabethan literature forever delightful.

Ben Jonson (1573–1637) was essentially a critic and a satirist. He brought to bear upon the literature of the time his wide knowledge of classical literature. To him the plays of his time seemed loose-jointed and incoherent, and he felt that comedies and tragedies on the classical model, such as his own *Volpone* and *Sejanus*, had greater unity and dignity than the hastily written plays of his contemporaries. Upon the life of his time he brought to bear his keen penetration of sham and folly and his hatred of affectation, selfishness, and credulity. He developed the "comedy of humors," — the portrayal of men overmastered by some dominant trait



Costumes of the Jacobean Period

of character, — and in *Bartholomew Fair* and *Every Man in his Humour* he gave to his time merciless satires of the folly and greed which he felt all about him. He became highly popular as a writer of masques for the festivities of the court.

During the reign of James I, masques were a very popular form of entertainment. Usually they were given to celebrate some important event. They belong to the drama, but they are slighter in plot and in characterization than the regular play. The situation from which the story of the masque was derived was frequently based upon some classic tale. The masque depended for its charm upon effects similar to those of pageants: elaborate staging, beautiful costumes, singing, dancing, and recitation. With great condescension, the nobility took minor parts in masques designed for their entertainment; but professional players interpreted the major rôles.

Francis Bacon (1561–1626), unlike Jonson, was only incidentally a man of letters. He was primarily a statesman and a scientist. As a statesman, his record is clouded by his conviction for bribery, though not under circumstances which do him great discredit. As a scientist he propounded the inductive theory of knowledge: that all truth is gained by observation and experiment, and not by deduction from theories accepted as true without proof. For the student of literature his chief interest lies in his essays, close-packed little bundles of keen, worldly-wise thoughts upon such subjects as truth, love, efficiency, and studies.

With the growth of confusion in political and religious life during the reign of Charles I, literature lost even more definitely the qualities which it had had in the days of Elizabeth. It is now easy to trace in letters a

gloom and austerity — due not so much to the religion of the Puritans, as to the natural foreboding of a people that sees its established customs one after another swept away and confusion rushing in to take the place of well-ordered tradition. We have on the one hand the gay lilting songs of the Cavalier poets, Herrick, Lovelace, and Suckling; and on the other the coldly beautiful and highly intellectual prose and poetry of the Puritans, whose greatest representative was John Milton (1608–1674).

Milton was born into a family that from his birth hoped great things for him. His father, a well-to-do notary, — or scrivener as such people were then called, — was a man of great culture. His mother was a woman of refinement, charm, and deep religious interests. The hymns written by Milton's father are still sung; the grace and sweetness of his mother are reflected in such characters as the Lady in *Comus*.

Milton's early education, undertaken by his father and a tutor, included a wide range of instruction, Greek, Latin, and music being important. The boy Milton must always seem a trifle unnatural to boys and girls of our time, when they learn that at twelve he was so fascinated by his studies that he was unable to sleep until after midnight. Perhaps not enough credit has been given that incomparable tutor who gave his charge more than the dull and wearisome routine of the grammar of the classics, and filled the boyish heart with the beauty of ancient tales of Greece and Rome. Before Milton was a mature man the two interests, — sometimes so diverse but in his case so closely related, — love of beauty in all its mysterious forms, and love of duty, were clearly marked in his character.

Later he was a student at St. Paul's, one of the famous London schools, and still later a member of

Christ's College, Cambridge. From the university he went in 1632 to his father's country house at Horton. There he lived much in accordance with the spirit of Spenser's pastoral poetry of the Renaissance. For six years he gave himself up to a most rigid course of study intended to fit him to write great poetry. When he felt that his studying was — for the time, at least — complete, he went abroad, visiting France, Switzerland, and Italy. From his plan to visit Greece he turned back when he learned that England was threatened with civil war.

For twenty years Milton devoted himself to the cause of the Commonwealth and became its indispensable spokesman. His rich cultural training enabled him to meet the envoys of other nations as few of the Puritan party could. Latin, the language of state, he spoke better than many diplomats. His mind was as clear and keen as any in Europe. He justified England's position before the world as no other Englishman was qualified to do. For the Revolution he was able to gain a recognition abroad which would have been impossible without his skill and fame. People who had read his Horton poems listened with interest to his political pronouncements, just as in our day Paderewski, the great Polish pianist, through his personal fame as a musician, was able to secure for his Republic the interest of those who otherwise would have cared little about it.

During the years of his political life Milton married Mary Powell, a young girl unfitted in almost every way to make him a congenial wife. She left him after a few weeks, inspiring the tracts that he wrote on divorce to justify his repudiation of the marriage. The tracts — or the unpleasant discussions which they aroused — alarmed his wife into returning to him; but the union

was never a happy one. At her death Milton married a woman with whom he was very happy for the brief duration of the marriage; and in his old age he married for a third time.

Milton, like many other scholars before eyestrain was understood, lost his sight through continual and intemperate use of his eyes. The exacting work necessitated by his political office is generally supposed to have hastened the trouble. The spirit in which he met the affliction, his bitter disappointment and his subsequent resignation, are known to all who have read the sonnet on his blindness and the one addressed to his friend, Cyriac Skinner.

In the latter years of his life, when all that he had hoped for England seemed frustrated through the restoration of the monarchy, he wrote the great epic which as a youth he had dreamed of writing — *Paradise Lost.*

The so-called minor poems, especially *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso,* contain the most spontaneous work that Milton did, and they form the most important body of his work for the young student. They were written in the quiet years of study and seclusion at Horton. In them is a love of beauty, still, serene, as yet not greatly troubled. They are filled with music, with keen pleasure in sweet country air and scenes, with simple as well as with scholastic amusements. They toy with reflections concerning man's truest pleasures; they glorify virtue; they make the beautiful seem easy of attainment.

Lycidas, an elegiac poem standing a bit apart, reminds us of the close kinship in form and spirit between Milton and Spenser, in the devotion of both to the poets of Greece and Rome.

Comus remains to us as the perfect masque of this period, filled with exquisite songs, brightened by rich

imagination, sobered by lofty idealism, and dominated by a serious theme. Almost too perfect it has seemed to some critics, in its careful intellectuality without the humanizing qualities that Ben Jonson might have lent it. Its sharply defined types, its somewhat formal dialogue, its noble characters whose welfare was the immediate concern of Jove, its brutish villain, its troops of nymphs, its animals, and its simple shepherds, make a poem of delightful contrasts.

In the time of the Stuarts, before the Revolution, the life of the people and the life of the court became utterly divorced. No longer was there that sympathy which had existed between Elizabeth and her subjects, and which had made the people feel that national aspirations and ideals were personified by the sovereign. What helped in this divorce of interests was the growth of the merchant class, who were strongly inclined toward Puritan ideals and who felt that the somewhat cynical gayety of the court, as well as the high-handed "divine rightness" of the king, were things which, if tolerated, would end in tyranny. For us the atmosphere of the court is best seen in the verse of the Cavalier poets: Herrick (1591–1674), who sings, "When as in silks my Julia goes," and Lovelace (1618–1658), who avows: —

> I could not love thee, dear, so much,
> Loved I not honour more.

Not all the people who belonged to the cultivated classes of society shared in the spirit of cynical amusement. Three poets, George Herbert (1593–1633), Henry Vaughan (1622–1695), and Richard Crashaw (1613?–1649) made much in their poetry of the love of God the Father enthroned in glory, and of spiritual exaltation. They were religious mystics: that is, instead of thinking out

their intellectual and theological views, they sought the truth in moments of intuition, vision, and inspiration. Vaughan says: —

> I saw Eternity the other night
> Like a great ring of pure and endless light,
> All calm as it was bright.

They did not, however, always move on such a high poetic plane. Sometimes, endeavoring to be forceful, they fell into queer, tortured language, and their imagination became merely perverse ingenuity.

The work of Izaak Walton, a London merchant (1593–1683), in *The Compleat Angler* makes us realize how London citizens in a time we think of as full of turmoil, clashing creeds, and jarring sects, could be concerned chiefly with the contemplation of leisurely pleasures. Izaak Walton is famous, not because he was great, but because he wrote of country pleasures for the city-bred. It is wholesome to realize that even at that time the ordinary people could live untouched by the confusion of political and religious partisanship, and find pleasure in contemplating philosophical themes and in listening to country folk singing ballads in quiet inns.

For the student of literature the age of Milton is not so interesting as that which preceded it. Yet, in the development of English thought and in the establishment of the English colonies in America, this is a period of immense importance. It was while Milton was living and writing that the work of colonization proceeded apace in the New World; and the men of the Commonwealth, in putting down forever the theory of the divine right of kings and establishing the English people as the sole arbiters of their own destiny, were fighting the battle of American democracy while that was still in process of birth.

VIII

THE RESTORATION

When Charles II was recalled to England in 1660, there was a period of general rejoicing. The country as a whole was thoroughly tired of military government, political theories, and religious strife. In general men wanted the old times back again; they wanted to be free to live as they pleased, to have as little government as necessary, to pay as few taxes as possible, and to make as much money as rapidly increasing trade would permit. The Puritan party accepted the inevitable, and the men of the old army went quietly back to their farms and shops. Back to the palaces came King and court, Charles with his mind made up to live as easy a life as he could, to avoid strife, and "never go on his travels again."

The total population of England at the Restoration was about five million — fewer than now live in the New York metropolitan district. Of this number about five sixths were in one way and another dependent upon the land. About half the total population were agricultural laborers, of no education, with few possessions and no prospects of improvement. They were destined to work hard, to have little food, and in their old age to count themselves fortunate if they did not have to live on charity. Their problem was nothing new. For centuries there had been in England this large class of people always living on the edge of want. From time to time lawmakers tried ineffectually to regulate their

wages and to provide for them when they were starving; but in general they lived their colorless lives as their fathers had lived and as their children were to live after them.

Above the laborers in station were the farmers — men who worked rented land. More energetic and capable than the laborers, they stood higher in the social scale. But their position was difficult. Agriculture was unprogressive and rents were high. They were ignorant of good methods of farming and had no incentive to make improvements, since improvements meant higher rents. They had few markets for what they produced. Roads were poor, and country people stayed at home. Initiative, energy, scientific methods of farming, ready markets, fertilizers, varied crops — all these commonplaces of modern farming were unknown to the plodding, slow-witted farmers of Restoration times.

One great drawback to their progress was the custom of cultivating land in common. The good land of a district was divided into sections which were redistributed each year. Woodland and pasture were also held in common. The result was that no opportunity was given for a progressive farmer to experiment with new crops, to drain land, or to fertilize. Such a system of agriculture could give farmers a living, but it could not produce food in such quantities as a large city population would have demanded.

Above the farmers were the yeomen, who in 1660 formed about one sixth of the population. The yeomen owned their land. They were sturdy in mind and in body, independent in spirit, and possessed of fair means. But as a class they were doomed to extinction. The great landowners and the rich merchants bought the land of the yeomen whenever they could. In the course

of time the yeomanry became mere farmers of rented land or part of the population of the large towns.

At the head of the country-dwellers were the nobility and the gentry. These were the owners of the land and the holders of all public offices outside the cities. They administered justice and had a large share in making the laws. They were intensely conservative in politics and religion, and jealously tenacious of their rights and privileges. They were, in general, men of narrow and obstinate prejudices, half illiterate, wholly lacking in any interest in or appreciation of culture, and boorish in manners.

Closely allied to this ruling class and dependent upon them were the country clergy. Those who held independent "livings" held them by gift of rich country-gentlemen. Those who were chaplains in the great houses were sometimes men of learning and cultivation, but more often mere servants. There was little religious enthusiasm. The Church was staunchly defended, not always because its adherents were men of true religious fervor but because they believed in it as a great national institution.

The population living in towns was about 1,400,000. The population of London was half a million. Of this a large number were mechanics, servants, small shopkeepers, and beggars. But these classes, like the agricultural laborers, were of little importance except as they did their day's work or occasionally broke the laws. Two smaller groups dominated London life: the merchants and traders of the City — the commercial centre of London — and the circle of the Court. Dependent upon these groups were professional men, lawyers, physicians, and public officials. Literary men, artists, musicians, and architects were part of the court circle;

teachers, who now form a large professional class, hardly existed outside the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and a few large schools.

The merchant group were strongly Puritan in their religious and political beliefs. They were sober, serious, hard-working men, keenly alive to the business of building up trade and of making money. They either disliked or ignored the country gentry, uniting with them in only two things: an intense patriotism and a partisan spirit in religion.

After the restoration of Charles II in 1660, trade and business made great advances. The East India Company strengthened its hold upon India, and the Hudson Bay Company developed the fur trade in America. Persecution of the Huguenots in France by Louis XIV at this time drove large numbers of them to England. They took with them new industries, such as silk-weaving, hat-making, glass-blowing, and paper-making. But of even greater importance for the development of business was the establishment of banking. Men began to deposit money for safe-keeping with the goldsmiths, whose houses were strongly built and guarded. Gradually the goldsmiths began to lend money, to borrow money to lend again, and to issue notes. From their business developed modern banking.

With the court circles men of business had little to do. They looked upon fashionable society much as modern business-men look upon rich idlers.

At the head of the court was, of course, the king and, after the king, those members of the nobility who chose to live in London. Charles II was a handsome, good-natured, witty, polished man of immoral character. He had little honor and no principles, but he was courteous and tactful. His aim was to be king with the

least possible effort and the greatest possible enjoyment. As a result he was surrounded by a court of men and women as handsome, as witty, and as immoral as himself. But the court circle also contained able and honest men: worthy public servants like Samuel Pepys; men of culture like John Evelyn; musicians like Henry Purcell; architects like Christopher Wren; and men of letters like John Dryden. Science flourished at the universities, and men of science received the patronage of the court. The Royal Society, a body of men interested in science, was founded in 1662. In the time of Charles II, Robert Boyle established his famous law of the relation between volume and pressure of gases, and Isaac Newton formulated the law of gravitation. To think of the Restoration period as a time when all society was dissolute is, therefore, a mistake. Immorality, bribery, lack of religious principles, poverty, meanness, and cruelty — all these existed, often flaunting themselves in public without fear or shame; but the great mass of English people continued on their way with the same quiet persistence which they had always shown.

The politics of the time were the overwhelming interest of the men who were thinking and writing. The Restoration continued England's progress toward modern constitutional government. The new Parliament abolished feudal dues and practices. Those dues were replaced by taxes levied upon malt and other articles of common use, taxes which all classes had to pay. Laws to keep trade by sea in the hands of England were now passed. At this time also there was passed the Habeas Corpus Act,[1] one of the greatest importance,

[1] A writ of *habeas corpus* is an order issued by a judge directing a jailer to produce a prisoner in court, so that he may know of what he is accused and may defend himself.

since it prevented the arrest of men on trumped-up charges and their imprisonment without trial.

Not all the laws passed by Parliament were good. Charles II — who was secretly a Roman Catholic —

A Seventeenth-Century Library

wished to grant toleration to Catholics and to Dissenters. But Parliament was afraid that the Dissenters would try to establish another Commonwealth — therefore they passed severe laws against all persons who were not members of the Church of England, and at the same time they repeatedly attempted to pass bills to

prevent Charles's brother James — who was openly a Catholic — from inheriting the throne.

Aside from politics, the two outstanding events in London life were the Plague in 1665 and the Great Fire in 1666. Epidemics had swept over England at various times since the Black Death of the fourteenth century, but never after that time had they caused such loss of life as did the Plague of 1665. Just what it was, nobody knew; but it spread up and down the crowded, narrow, dirty streets of London, killing people by thousands. It was followed by a great fire which burned all of ancient London, destroying many famous old buildings and with them the germs of pestilence. When the city was rebuilt it was made somewhat more healthful and convenient.

Prominent among those who were called upon to aid in the reconstruction of the city was the architect Christopher Wren, who designed St. Paul's Cathedral and many other famous buildings.

In 1685 Charles II died. James II, the new King, was openly a Roman Catholic. This fact in itself was sufficient to make him unpopular with Parliament and with large numbers of his subjects. Unlike his brother Charles, he had learned nothing from history. He was narrow and obstinate, with no sense of humor but with an exaggerated idea of his position. A rebellion begun by the Duke of Monmouth he put down with severity so great, that the memory of the ferocious cruelty with which his underling, Jeffreys, conducted the trials of the rebels remained forever after in men's minds. James tried to reëstablish Catholicism as the State religion and ran counter to every prejudice and custom of the times. The result was that he soon found himself almost without a friend upon whom he could rely.

In 1688 a group of prominent Englishmen invited William of Orange, Stadholder of the Netherlands, who had married James's daughter Mary, to invade England in defense of its constitutional liberties. William accepted the invitation, landed with his army, and marched toward London. In 1689 William and Mary were declared by a convention of Lords and Commons joint sovereigns of England. James fled to France with his family. Once more an English monarch had been dethroned by his subjects.

The literature of the Restoration is very definitely the offspring of the ideas which then occupied men's minds. That Puritan ideals were by no means extinct is shown by the esteem with which John Milton's *Paradise Lost* was received in 1667. At the time when all England was rejoicing at the return of the "Merry Monarch," when "sons of Belial, flown with insolence and wine," infested the streets of London, assaulting respectable citizens and breaking the windows of Puritan houses, there were still plenty of men to read this great poem with understanding and with respect. Numbers of Englishmen, as they read the mighty lines which told of the conflict of God and the fallen angels, or of the sweet happiness of man's ancestors in Paradise, felt that at last an epic had been written in English which did truly —

> . . . justify the ways of God to men.

Men of humbler mentality than the readers of Milton found similar inspiration in the work of a poor tinker, upon whom the laws against the Dissenters had borne heavily. John Bunyan's (1628–1688) *Pilgrim's Progress* to them was not a story, but a real record of a real man's struggle to attain heavenly grace. Religion to

them was life itself; the Bible, as a literal record of the words of God, was to them the most important thing in the world. Shut out as they were by harsh laws from the life of their time, despised and rejected of men, they fixed their thoughts upon the Celestial City, sure of a truer and finer life there than they could win to upon earth.

The feeling against Puritans showed itself in Samuel Butler's (1612–1680) famous satiric poem, *Hudibras.* In rollicking couplets Butler unmercifully ridiculed the least likeable traits of the narrowest Puritans. *Hudibras* was the most popular book of the day.

In elegant literary circles the chief figure was John Dryden (1631–1700). Closely associated with the court, he reflected in his didactic poems the political and religious issues with which the whole country was concerned. He celebrated the return of Charles; he chronicled the Plague and the Fire; he set forth in allegorical satire the political intrigues of court and Parliament. In his essays he popularized the ideas of literary criticism which were then current in France: the question of the dramatic unities, the comparative merits of ancient and modern writers, and the use of rhyme in tragedy. He also wrote many plays which were performed at the theatres.

When the theatres, which had been closed by the Commonwealth in 1642, reopened in 1660, they showed great changes. Actresses now appeared on the stage, elaborate scenery was used, and the audiences were much more fashionable than in the old days. However, two small theatres sufficed for their needs. The old plays now seemed silly or hopelessly old-fashioned. For a while extravagantly bombastic tragedies — "heroic plays" — were the rage, then more dignified romantic tragedies.

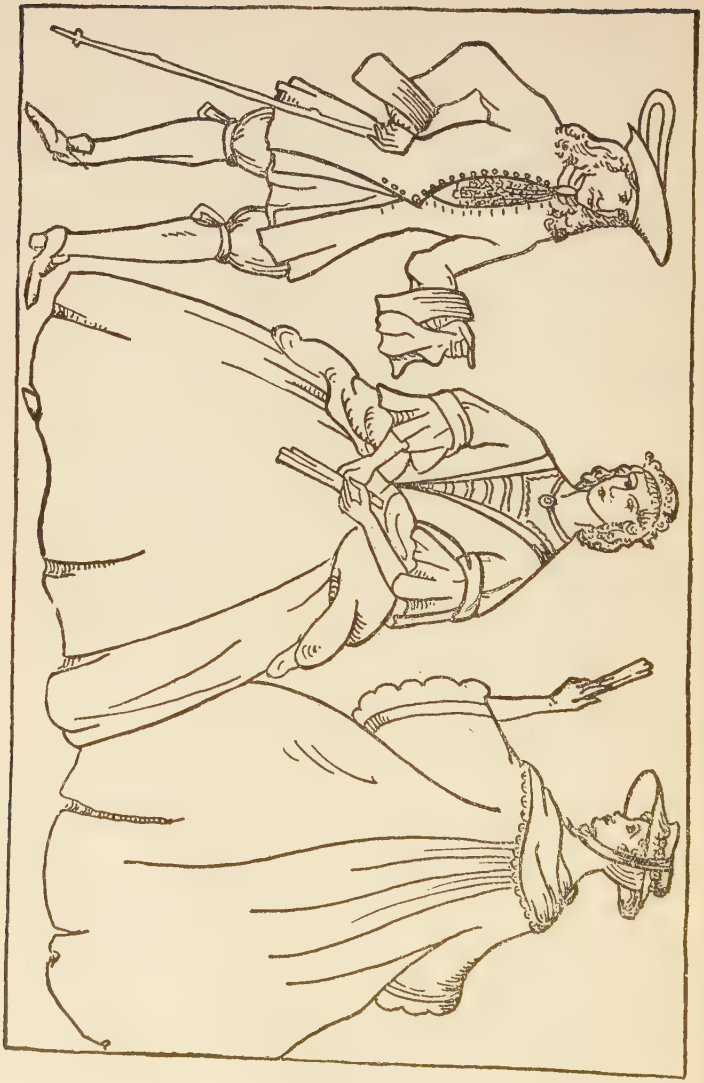
Most popular of all were comedies which reflected a social life even more immoral than that of the audience. These comedies, when printed, were widely read until late in the century they brought upon themselves the condemnation which they richly deserved.

IX

THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY

The Revolution of 1688, which deposed James and brought William and Mary to the throne, was an epoch-making event in European history. For the first time, a king had been deposed by his subjects without bloodshed and without serious disturbance within the state. For the next hundred years, men who dreamed of democracy and liberty used the example of England to prove that their dreams might come true. Yet the Revolution did not cause any great change in the status of the average Englishman. It simply meant that thereafter Parliament was the ruler of the country and that the king would — in the end — have to bow to its decisions.

Parliament made sure that William and Mary fully understood the situation, by passing a series of Acts which clearly defined its position and theirs. The most important of these was the Bill of Rights, many of the provisions of which form the foundation of modern political liberty. This bill declared — among other matters — that royal assumption of power to set aside laws was illegal; that the raising or keeping of a standing army without the consent of Parliament was illegal; that the election of members of Parliament ought to be free; that excessive bail ought not to be required; that cruel and unusual punishments ought not to be inflicted; and that Parliament ought to be convened frequently. Only second in importance was the refusal to grant



COSTUMES OF THE QUEEN ANNE PERIOD

money for king, army, or government for a longer period than one year. This system of annual grants made it practically necessary for Parliament to be summoned once a year, since without grants of money the government could not be carried on. Parliament also passed a Toleration Act making it possible for Dissenters, Catholics, and Jews to worship as they pleased, without fear of persecution. In 1695 the censorship of the press — which in one form or another had existed for many years — was ended. These Acts meant that the violent political and religious dissensions of the past were at an end.

In spite of these changes, however, it must not be supposed that England became democratic, as we now use the term. Dissenters and Catholics did not need to fear persecution, but they could not hold office or study at the universities. Nor was the privilege of voting given to many people. Indeed, suffrage as well as representation in Parliament was so restricted that the control of the country was really in the hands of a comparatively few influential nobles and landowners. Then, also, since two parties, the Whigs and the Tories, had now risen, and since of course only one party could be in office at once, power was still further confined. The Whigs, in general, were a group of men who scorned sentimental interest in the royal family, who believed strongly in the power of Parliament, who favored the extension of trade, and who, to a certain extent, showed a leaning toward freedom of thought. The Whig party was composed of the leaders of the great noble families and the rich merchants of the towns. The Tories, on the other hand, were highly conservative, interested in the royal family to the extent — in many cases — of favoring the return of the son of James II, suspicious of

toleration and of the advance of trade. The Tory party was recruited, in general, from the country gentry and the clergy.

The great mass of people had no voice whatever in the government, and no representation. They were seldom interested in political questions except as their passions and prejudices might be stirred up by some half-understood issue. The result was that the government of England in the eighteenth century was practically an oligarchy of aristocrats, many of whom actually owned seats in Parliament which they filled to suit themselves. Bribery was the common method of securing votes, and the most powerful official of the day — Robert Walpole — openly boasted that every man had his price.

The power of this aristocratic oligarchy was increased by the fact that William III was a Hollander with little understanding of the English. His English wife Mary died within six years of their accession to the throne. On the death of William in 1702, Anne — another daughter of James II — came to the throne, chosen because she was a Protestant. She was a woman who was naturally good, kind, religious, and charitable, but with no ability in government. Her brother James, who was a Catholic, created excitement by starting in Scotland an insurrection which, however, proved futile. He was known to Anne's partisans as "the Pretender", and is interestingly portrayed in Thackeray's *Henry Esmond.* His son Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender", started a similar insurrection in 1745. (Scott pictured those times in *Waverley.*) That also came to nothing; but both uprisings left in Scotland memories which grew to legends and fired the imaginations of men for many generations. Many sentimental tears were shed

over the "rightful king" and many wild plans hatched for his eventual restoration; but the Jacobites, as the supporters of the Stuart line were called, never accomplished anything. England was done with the Stuarts.

On the death of Anne in 1714, George I, Elector of Hanover in Germany, came to the throne by right of his mother, who was (like Queen Anne's father) a grandchild of James I.[1] Four Georges reigned in succession — a line of German kings who never understood the nature or temper of the English, and who conse-

[1] JAMES STUART

(James VI of Scotland, James I of England)

Stuarts in England		*Stuarts on the Continent*
Charles I was son of James I	.....	Elizabeth, sister of Charles I and daughter of James I, married Elector Frederick, later King of Bohemia
Charles II was son of Charles I; James II was brother of Charles II and son of Charles I	.....	Elizabeth's daughter Sophia was cousin to Charles II and James II, niece to Charles I, and granddaughter of James I. Sophia married Ernest Augustus of Hanover
Mary (wife of William) was daughter of James II, granddaughter of Charles I, and great-granddaughter of James I; Anne (Mary's sister) was daughter of James II, granddaughter of Charles I, and great-granddaughter of James I	.....	Sophia's son George was a second cousin of Mary and Anne, grandson of Charles I, great-grandson of James I. He became George I of England James Stuart, son of James II by the second wife (Mary of Modena), was half-brother of Queen Mary and Queen Anne, grandson of Charles I and great-grandson of James I. He is known in romance as "The Pretender" and his son, a generation later, as "The Young Pretender"

quently could hardly gain any real extension of the royal power.

Though the great mass of people were not affected by political issues, they were affected by the activities of the government. The chief of these was the vigorous share which England took in European affairs after 1688. Louis XIV, king of France, was friendly to the deposed Stuarts and to the Roman Catholics in England; he was bitterly hostile to William, who for years had defied his extension of power in Continental politics. Moreover, the English colonists in America were coming constantly into collision with the French traders. Finally, the English, watching Louis grow more and more powerful in Europe, began to fear that the French — like the Spanish a hundred years earlier — would attempt an invasion of England. At any rate, by 1690 the English and French were at war, and by the middle of the next century three wars had been fought with France. As in all wars, patriotism was roused to the highest pitch. A feeling of hate and contempt for the enemy grew up and lasted for a hundred and fifty years; famous bloody battles were fought which, though they brought great glory to Marlborough, the English commander-in-chief, decided very little. Most famous of these battles was Blenheim, fought in Bavaria in 1704. It is interesting to note that some of the fighting was over the same ground as the fighting in the World War of 1914–18, in which England and France were not enemies, but staunch allies.

These wars with France increased the English possessions in India, in the Mediterranean, and in America, and laid the foundation for the British Empire. They built up a great British army in which the soldiers were miserably treated, and a great British navy in

which the sailors were subjected to a discipline even more brutal and ignominious. But sailors and soldiers alike seemed to forget their miserable condition when they came to battle, and generally fought bravely and well.

These wars — like all wars — cost a great deal of money. It was at this time that the national debt was founded and the practice was established of borrowing money for the expenses of war, to be paid by future generations. To aid in financing the government the Bank of England was established — an institution which remains to this day the centre of English finance.

But for the average man the most important effect of the wars was an immediate and extensive increase in taxes, which were now levied on salt, sugar, spices, raisins, beer, soap, candles, windows in houses, linen, calico, and silk. The taxes had certain curious effects. People often boarded up some of the windows in their houses. Tea and coffee had only recently been introduced into England; coffee was widely used, tea was regarded as a luxury. Both were heavily taxed, but as tea was smuggled into the country and sold much more cheaply than coffee, it became more popular, and in consequence the English became a tea-drinking nation.

Another effect was increased drunkenness. French wines were heavily taxed; Portuguese wines, because of a commercial treaty with Portugal, lightly taxed. Hence people began to use the cheaper Portuguese wines, which, however, were much the stronger. The heavy taxes on French brandy led to the establishment of distilleries which could make and sell gin cheaply. There developed an immense traffic in liquor, which soon caused an appalling increase in drunkenness among the lower classes. Attempts to tax gin merely led to its

illegal manufacture and sale, with an even greater increase in drunkenness.

Meanwhile smuggling of tea, tobacco, and silk became a thriving trade. Many stirring tales of smugglers date from this period. Illegal traffic was increased by the open corruption of public officials.

What saved the day was a great increase in foreign trade. The American colonies throve, the trade with India increased, and a certain amount of trade with the Spanish colonies was permitted. Exploration in search of new wealth continued. These were the years when buccaneering and piracy round the West Indies flourished, and Captain Kidd sailed the Spanish Main under the black pirate-flag. Thrilling tales were told of the exploits of the buccaneers; but in the end, as they came to interfere seriously with British trade, most of them were cleared off the seas.

The increase in wealth brought about a great increase in luxury, in leisure, and above all in speculation. Noticing the wealth of a few, everyone was on fire to become rich. There ensued a period of feverish speculation with its natural result of panics, newly enriched groups, bankruptcies, and other thoroughly modern economic phenomena. The most famous of the financial crises was the collapse of the South Sea Company in 1720. This company had been formed nine years before, to trade with Spanish America and with Asia. Officers of the company were in favor with the government, and magnificent financial plans were projected, among them a plan to take over the management of the national debt. Naturally, an orgy of speculation in the stock of the company began. Stock which at first sold at 77 rose finally to 1060. Then came the crash, which spread panic and ruin. It was England's first experience with

the breaking of a great speculative bubble, but it was by no means the last.

Foreign trade, smuggling, speculation, the improvements in finance, the inflation of wealth by the creation of the national debt — all these were powerful stimulants to a great increase of national wealth. There was little increase in population, however, — by the middle of the century it was only 1,000,000 more than it had been in 1688, — and consequently the average wealth per capita was far greater than it had been. Unfortunately, wealth was as unevenly distributed as ever. There were still large numbers who lived near the thin edge of starvation. This inequality meant, of course, that some people were rich enough to live in luxury and leisure and that a great many other people who were not so rich formed their manners and organized their lives on the model of the fashionable few. Indeed, this is the period of the beginning of city life as we know it to-day, with its varied interests and amusements, its extravagance, its complexities of social organization, its artificiality, its crowding, its luxury and its poverty, its brilliance and its wretchedness, its noise and its dirt, and its social refinement and sophistication.

Probably the outstanding feature of London life in the first half of the eighteenth century was the coffeehouse. This was not a new institution, — the first one in London having been established in 1652, — but it reached the height of its popularity in the eighteenth century. The coffeehouse was primarily a gathering place where one could learn the news, pass an hour or two pleasantly, talk politics or the latest literary gossip, transact business, write a letter, or — in some cases — gamble. The coffeehouse was the modern newspaper, club, and business office in one. A writer of that time says: —

These Houses, which are very numerous in London, are extreamly convenient. You have all Manner of news there: You have a good Fire, which you may sit by as long as you please; You have a dish of Coffee, you meet your friends for the Transaction of Business, and all for a Penny, if you don't Care to spend more.

Steele in the *Spectator* gives a satirical picture of coffeehouse life: —

I, who am at the Coffee house at Six in a Morning, know that my friend *Beaver* the Haberdasher has a Levy of more undissembled Friends and Admirers, than most of the Courtiers or Generals of Great Britain. Every Man about him has, perhaps, a News Paper in his Hand; but none can pretend to guess what Step will be taken in any one Court of Europe, till Mr. *Beaver* has thrown down his Pipe, and declares what Measures the Allies must enter into upon this new Posture of Affairs. Our Coffee House is near one of the Inns of Court, and *Beaver* has the Audience and Admiration of his Neighbours from Six 'till within a Quarter of Eight, at which time he is interrupted by the Students of the House; some of whom are ready dress'd for Westminster, at Eight in a Morning, with Faces as busie as if they were retained in every Cause there; and others come in their Night Gowns to saunter away their Time, as if they never designed to go thither.

I do not know that I meet in any of my Walks, Objects which move both my Spleen and laughter so effectually, as these young Fellows at the Grecian, Squire's, Searle's, and all the other Coffee Houses adjacent to the Law, who rise early for no other purpose but to publish their Laziness. One would think these young *Virtuosos* take a gay Cap and Slippers, with a Scarf and Party Coloured Gown, to be Ensigns of Dignity, for the vain things approach each other with an Air, which shews they regard one another for their Vestments. . . .

When the Day grows too busie for these Gentlemen to enjoy any longer the Pleasures of their *Deshabille* with any manner of Confidence, they give place to Men who have Business or Good Sense in their Faces, and come to the Coffee house, either to transact Affairs or enjoy Conversation.

Each group had its favorite coffeehouse. Tories frequented Ozinda's; the Whigs, St. James. Lloyd's — to-day an insurance company known all over the world — started at this time as a coffeehouse which became headquarters for shipping business and insurance. Jonathan's was headquarters for the sale of stocks and bonds. White's chocolate house was extremely aristocratic; Garraway's was the haunt of business men. Addison was fond of Button's, but in general literary men frequented Will's. Its fortune had been made years before by Dryden, who held there a kind of literary court, honoring young writers with a nod, a pinch of snuff, or a little condescending praise. Learned men — such as members of the Royal Society — met at the Grecian. Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley went to Squire's. John Salter's or "Don Saltero's" had a collection of curiosities which made it a kind of museum.

Frequenters of coffeehouses were not too discriminating apparently, for among the exhibits were such articles as "The Queen of Sheba's fan," "Queen Elizabeth's stirrup," and "Pontius Pilate's wife's chambermaid's sister's sister's hat." Perhaps the whole collection was a satire on the mania for the collection of curiosities which was prevalent at the time.

When men went out to dine, they ate at the taverns or "ordinaries." These were much like the restaurants of the present day, except that they were frequented only by men who spent what we should consider an inordinate time over meals. Jolly and elaborate dinners with much drinking were common, especially when groups of men — "clubs," these groups came to be called — met for an evening.

Swift says of the October Club, a Tory group: "We are plagued here with an October Club; that is, a set

of above a hundred Parliament men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the Parliament, to consult affairs, and drive things on to extremes against the Whigs. . . ." One of the best known clubs was the Kit Cat, a group of men of wealth and culture. There were many other social clubs which were much like American luncheon clubs. They later came to have houses for their exclusive use, and thus developed into the clubs of the present day.

Social life had gained decency and dignity since the times of the Restoration. Men and women were not so free in their language and in their behavior as they had been, and they began to place value on grace and ease of bearing. Coarseness on the stage and in society was passing out of fashion. Men and women who had once affected vulgarity in speech and manners now affected an elaborate "society manner." This often degenerated into foppishness and simpering affectation; but frivolity is, after all, preferable to indecency.

Men and women did not spend so much time together as they do now. What with business, coffeehouses, and taverns, men's days were full. Women had their household cares of course, but servants were plentiful, and rich women sometimes found time heavy on their hands. They visited one another, gossiped over the tea table, shopped, read fashionable romances of the French court and plays of the Restoration, played games, gambled at cards, and — if they were devout — went to the daily service at St. Paul's.

Men and women now and then had social gatherings together, much as they do to-day; they listened to the music of the spinet and the harpsichord, danced country dances, or played at cards.

There were also public masquerades, which — like public dances to-day — were sometimes of questionable repute. Attempts were made to confine the attendance to fashionable people, but under cover of masks all sorts of people gained admittance. The clergy preached against them, but they continued in full favor under the name of "ridottos." Ridottos were frequently held at Ranelagh and at Vauxhall, elaborately laid-out gardens where one could walk among the trees, watch the fireworks, stare at the crowds, dance, eat, and drink. A letter written in 1742 says: "Two nights ago Ranelagh Gardens were opened at Chelsea. The Prince, Princess, the Duke, much nobility and much mob besides were there. There is a vast amphitheatre, finely gilt, painted and illuminated, into which everybody that loves eating, drinking, staring, or crowding, is admitted for one shilling. Building and laying out the gardens cost £16,000. Twice a week there are to be Ridottos at guinea tickets, for which you are to have supper and music. I was there last night, but did not find the joy of it. Vauxhall is a little better, for the garden is pleasanter and one goes by water."

The theatre was not so popular as it had been, only two theatres generally being open at once. The Court no longer supported the theatre, and public interest lay in other directions. Shakespeare's dramas were occasionally performed. The plays of the Restoration were still popular. Society comedies which satirized the artificiality of fashionable life were well patronized. Playwrights were finding the drama an excellent means of satirizing the political party in power, but state censorship put an end to this profitable pursuit.

The theatre was overshadowed by the Italian opera, which became very fashionable. Most of its success was

undoubtedly owing to its novelty and to the patronage given it by members of the nobility. Its chief interest for us comes from the fact that it is associated with the name of the German composer Handel, who took up his home in England. Whereas his operas failed to hold public favor, his oratorios — especially the *Messiah* — became very popular and are still sung.

The ordinary citizen of London had plenty of entertainment. There were great parades and celebrations in honor of victories won in the wars. Every year on Lord Mayor's Day was a gay, noisy, rough procession. People visited the Tower of London to marvel at the lions and other animals which were kept there. Westminster Abbey was then, as now, a favorite resort of sightseers. There were three fairs a year, something like the annual fairs in the United States except that they were far rougher. There were jugglers and dancers, tight-rope walkers and glass-blowers, midgets, giants, freaks, and strong men.

Occasionally people left London for trips to Tunbridge Wells, Epsom, or Bath. At these "watering places" fashionable society gathered in the summer to drink the mineral waters, to bathe, walk, bowl, gamble, gossip, flirt, and dance. The life at a watering place was much like that at a modern summer-resort, with boating, tennis, and golf omitted.

With all these pleasures, there grew up an elaborate code of fashionable gallantry. Men affected to worship the beauties of the day, and to treat all fashionable women with an exaggerated courtliness. Addison satirizes this affectation:

> The Playhouse is very frequently filled with *Idols;* several of them are carried in Procession every evening about the Ring; and several of them set up their worship even in

Churches. They are to be accosted in the language proper to the Deity. Life and Death are in their Power: Joys of Heaven and Pains of Hell are at their disposal: Paradise is in their Arms, and Eternity in every moment that you are present with them. Raptures, Transports, and Ecstacies are the Rewards which they confer; Sighs and Tears, Prayers and broken Hearts are the Offerings which are paid to them.

In spite of all this affected gallantry, the actual position of women was low. They were often illiterate. They had no legal rights whatever. Whereas divorce was difficult even for a man, since an act of Parliament was required, no woman could obtain a divorce for any reason. A husband might beat his wife with impunity, provided that he use "reasonable chastisement" — and almost any chastisement was considered reasonable. A married woman owned no property, everything of hers becoming the property of her husband. Many an heiress was beguiled into marriage by a handsome adventurer who, if he did not desert her after gaining possession of her fortune, reduced her to dependence upon his bounty. Later "settlements" were devised, which set aside a certain part of the property as the possession of the wife, and of her children after her death.

The dress of men and women was in keeping with the artificiality of polite society. Women wore elaborate headdresses and richly embroidered gowns. Fashions changed as rapidly as they do now and the writers of the time railed in a very modern manner against the low-cut dresses and the enormous hoopskirts.

Men wore elaborate powdered wigs, cocked hats, neckcloths, fine ruffled shirts, waistcoats, — which young men wore open, the better to display their ruffles, — brightly colored long-coats, silk breeches, stockings of various colors, and fine shoes, often with red heels.

COSTUMES OF THE GEORGIAN PERIOD

The people of the day felt that they lived in an age of great refinement. We, however, are inclined to see their refinement only as a veneer on a foundation of inconvenience, vice, and brutality. We should feel that the streets of London, for instance, were barbarous. They were narrow, ill-paved, dirty, crowded, and without police protection except by decrepit constables. In wet weather they were full of puddles plentifully fed by the streams of water which gushed from the roofs. When a coach lumbered along or a horseman dashed through the puddles, the pedestrians hugged the wall to avoid being spattered by the mud. Swift gives some good advice about conduct on the streets: —

> Let due civilities be strictly paid.
> The wall surrender to the hooded Maid;
> Nor let thy sturdy Elbow's hasty Rage
> Jostle the feeble Steps of trembling Age:
> And when the Porter bends beneath his Load,
> And pants for Breath; clear thou the crowded Road.
> But above all, the groping Blind direct,
> And from the pressing Throng the Lame protect.
> You'll sometimes meet a Fop of Nicest Tread,
> Whose mantling Peruke veils his empty head;
> At ev'ry Step he dreads the Wall to lose,
> And risques, to save a Coach, his red heel'd Shoes;
> Him like the Miller, pass with Caution by,
> Lest from his Shoulders Clouds of Powder fly.
> But when the Bully, with assuming Pace
> Cocks his Broad Hat, edg'd round with tarnished Lace,
> Yield not the Way; defie his strutting Pride,
> And thrust him to the Muddy Kennel's side;
> He never turns again, nor dares oppose,
> But mutters Coward Curses as he goes.

The streets were crowded with coaches, sedan chairs, porters, wagons, and peddlers. A satirist of the time gives some interesting details: —

> Some Carry, others are Carried: *Make way there,* says a gouty leg'd Chairman. . . . *Make room there,* says another

Fellow driving a Wheelbarrow of Nuts. . . . One draws, another drives. *Stand up there, you blind Dog*, says a Carman. . . . One Tinker knocks, another bawls; *Have* you a *Brass Pot, Iron Pot, Kettle, Skillet, or a Frying Pan to mend?* Whilst another yelps louder than Homer's Stentor, *Two a groat, and four for Sixpence, Mackerel.* One draws his Mouth up to his Ears and howls out, *Buy my Flounders.* . . .

Here a sooty Chimney Sweeper takes the Wall of a grave Alderman, and a Broom man justles the Parson of the Parish. There a fat greasie Porter runs a Trunk full butt upon you, while another salutes you with a Flasket of Eggs and Butter. *Turn out there, you Country Putt*, says a Bully with a sword two yards long jarring at his heels, and throws him into the Kennel.

The streets were a hard place for strangers to find their way about. Houses were identified by signs instead of numbers, and Londoners of a certain sort delighted in sending strangers in the wrong direction. Pickpockets were everywhere and brutal crime was common. There were periodic outbreaks of violence which excited people so that they were afraid to go out at night on the dimly lighted streets. From time to time reports of roystering bands of "Mohocks" or "Hawcubites," who roamed the streets breaking windows and maiming pedestrians, caused helpless indignation. But the excitement invariably died down, just as it does after a "crime wave" in our own day.

With the streets in such a condition, it was natural that men should take advantage of the much easier travel on the Thames River. It was a simple matter to leave the crowded streets, go to a landing, step aboard a boat, and be rowed within easy reach of one's destination. A traveler remarks of the river boats: —

The little Boats upon the Thames, which are only for carrying of Persons, are light and pretty; some are row'd but by

one Man, others by two; the former are called Scullers, and the latter Oars. They are reckon'd at several Thousands; but tho' there are indeed a great many, I believe the Number is exaggerated. The City of London being very long, it is a great Conveniency to be able sometimes to make use of this way of Carriage. You sit at your Ease upon Cushions, and have a board to lean against; but generally they have no Covering unless a Cloth, which the Watermen set up immediately, in case of Need, over a few hoops; and sometimes you are wet to the Skin for all this. It is easy to conceive that the Oars go faster than the Sculls, and accordingly their pay is doubled. You never have any Disputes with them; for you can go to no Part either of London, or the Country above or below it, but the Rate is fix'd by Authority; every Thing is regulated and printed.

Dueling was common. All men wore swords and used them on slight provocation. The law against dueling was severe, but was enforced with difficulty. Men felt that their honor was so smirched by insults to which we should pay slight attention, that only blood could wipe out the stain. In case of arrest and trial for a fatal duel, men often pleaded their "benefit of clergy," which set them at liberty with only a nominal punishment. Benefit of clergy was a curious legal survival from the time when men could appeal from the civil to the ecclesiastical courts, if in holy orders, because they were under the protection of the Church. The proof of such right of appeal was the ability to read Latin, since all men in holy orders knew Latin. But the ability to read a single verse from the Latin Bible was considered sufficient proof of one's knowledge of Latin! It is needless to say that benefit of clergy was greatly abused and served as a convenient escape for men not really in holy orders at all, but upon whom the courts did not want to be severe.

For ordinary crime, such as theft, the courts were

ferociously severe, freely imposing the sentence of death. Because of the severity of the law, robbery was often accompanied by murder, upon the principle that a man "might as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb." Hangings were regular spectacles in London, crowds attending with callous enjoyment. Criminals became momentary heroes, made speeches, and were given a dingy immortality in stories and ballads. Most famous of the criminals of the time were the highwaymen, who even in our day are clothed with romantic glamour. Hiding in the fields near London and elsewhere these men lay in wait for travelers. Undoubtedly they were in league with innkeepers, who informed them when travelers with large sums of money were riding in the stagecoaches or on horseback. They became very bold, since there were few officers of the law to protect the highways, and since highwaymen, well mounted, could easily escape by taking to side roads impassable for coaches. During the entire eighteenth-century they were a constant menace. Some few had extraordinary careers of adventure and escape, but in the end almost all the highwaymen ended their lives on the scaffold.

The prisons were in a condition which nowadays would be regarded as barbarous. Debtors in some cases were imprisoned for life. Boys who had committed some slight offense were herded with criminals. Prisons were schools of vice, and society paid the penalty for its brutal callousness by the creation of a criminal class which became devoid of every human virtue. A contemporary writer calls these criminals — with justice — "degenerate wretches, who had neither sense of grace, knowledge of virtue, fear of shame, nor dread of misery." Prisoners were starved, beaten, and tortured, but nobody bothered himself about their miserable con-

dition. After all, said the average citizen, a man is in prison because he has broken the law; why should an honest man worry about him? A prisoner who had committed a crime had some hope — sooner or later he would be tried, and then whipped, branded, or hanged. In any case he would be released from the misery of prison life. A prisoner who had committed no crime, but was in prison for debt, had often no hope at all. If his relatives or friends did not pay his debts, he might look forward to years of miserable prison-life, unless he died in one of the epidemics which were continually raging in the prisons. Otherwise his only hope of escape was to sell himself as a servant in the colonies for a term of years.

Even worse than the treatment of prisoners was the treatment of the insane, who were confined in Bethlehem Hospital — popularly known as Bedlam. Here the insane were chained, whipped, and generally abused. Bedlam was regarded by visitors as one of the chief sights of London, and one went to laugh at the lunatics, as one went to stare at the lions in the Tower.

With all the brutality and cruelty which lay beneath the surface refinement of the time, one may be sure that education in all its phases was what we should call a negligible quantity. There were none of the libraries, museums, public schools, magazines, lectures, and newspapers of our day. The average child might learn a little reading and writing, but very little. Sons of the well-to-do — of course — learned more, since their parents could pay for their schooling. Latin was the basis of the curriculum as it had been for many years. In the schools for girls, however, Latin was not taught; needlework, dancing, music, and French were all that girls needed to become models of elegant propriety.

Newspapers and magazines, which in our day have made such tremendous growth, were then in their infancy. Before 1702 there were several small newspapers issued three times a week, containing brief notices of political events at home and abroad. One of these, the *London Gazette*, had been in existence for many years as the official newspaper of the Government. In 1695 the first daily paper, the *Post Boy*, had been established, but it had a short life. In 1702 came the *Daily Courant*, a small single sheet, printed on but one side. It gave the most meagre account of happenings in Europe. Indeed, it was many years before newspapers became interested in the thousand-and-one items of local interest which we now call news. In the early eighteenth-century items of foreign affairs and English parliamentary gossip were the only news worth printing.

Life in the country was naturally duller than life in London. Communication remained difficult and dangerous, and agriculture showed little advancement. The country gentleman in some few cases was progressive, but in general he retained the conservatism, obstinacy, vulgarity, and illiteracy of his fathers. Hunting was his chief occupation, as it had been, and as it remained for many years. Game laws were in force, but they were not so savage as they became later. The chief of these laws provided that no one might shoot game unless he had an income of £40 per annum or owned property worth £200. Illegal hunting — or "poaching" — was regarded as a serious offense, but many a poor farm-laborer must now and then have poached a dinner.

For women, life in the country was especially dull. Aside from the supervision of their households they had

little occupation. They did not hunt, and the companionship of hard-riding, hard-drinking men offered little diversion. Visiting was difficult; as one lady writes, "One visits in the country at the hazard of one's bones." The same lady "squalled for joy" when she was overturned in her coach; but most women would hardly have considered such an adventure joyous. Eighteenth-century women managed their houses, went to church on Sundays, made a rare visit to London, and generally felt that life was somewhat stupid.

Science, manufactures, and medicine were still rudimentary. No great discoveries — like Newton's law of gravitation — were made. Those who were interested in science spent most of their time making collections of rare and curious objects. Such men, known as "virtuosi," were derided by fashionable men of culture — known in their turn as "wits" — as more or less crack-brained pedants. Manufacturing remained in the state of handwork. Yarn was spun by women in odd hours; cloth was woven by men in their own houses. The manufacture of iron and steel was in its infancy. Coal and coke were little used in the production of iron from the ores, and charcoal, which was the common fuel, was getting scarce with a shortage of wood. Swedish iron was imported, but the manufacture of American iron, which the colonies had begun, was practically suppressed. Already the fear of colonial competition in manufactures was leading to the legislation which finally brought on the American Revolution.

Medicine was making no progress. People had much the same diseases which we have now, but the death rate was far higher, because of the lack of sanitation and of medical skill. Children had small chance of life. Many children were born, but few survived. Bleeding

was the universal remedy, and doubtless played its part in raising the death rate. Smallpox was the most feared of diseases, spreading periodically over England. People still believed that various skin diseases such as the "king's evil" (scrofula) could be cured by the touch of the sovereign.[1] Queen Anne was the last sovereign to perform the rite. She "touched" Samuel Johnson when he was a boy, but to no effect. Since the afflicted people were received in great state in the midst of a curious crowd, and had gold medals hung about their necks, besides being given medical service if they were really ill, it is no wonder that many were willing to take such a chance of being cured.

Religion in the early eighteenth-century was in a

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[1] *Cf. Macbeth,* Act IV, Sc. III, l. 139: —

MALCOLM. Well; more anon. Comes the King forth, I pray you?

DOCTOR. Ay, sir; there are a crew of wretched souls
That stay his cure. Their malady convinces
The great assay of art; but at his touch —
Such sanctity hath Heaven given his hand —
They presently amend.

MALCOLM. I thank you, doctor.
(*Exit Doctor.*)

MACDUFF.
What 's the disease he means?

MALCOLM. 'T is call'd the evil:
A most miraculous work in this good king;
Which often, since my here-remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits Heaven,
Himself best knows; but strangely-visited people,
All swollen and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures,
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers; and 't is spoken,
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction. With this strange virtue,
He hath a heavenly gift of prophecy,
And sundry blessings hang about his throne,
That speak him full of grace.

very low state. There was but little genuine religious feeling and what there was did not make itself felt. People went to church as they had always done, but in many cases, merely as a matter of form. The clergy had little freedom. They were dependent either upon wealthy men who appointed them to a charge over a parish — a "living" it was called — or upon Parliament, which had absolute control over the Church and over appointments to high ecclesiastical positions. People in high social position treated clergymen, especially chaplains attached to the great houses, with little respect. Addison says: —

> In this case I know not which to censure, the Patron or the Chaplain, the insolence of power or the abjectness of dependence. For my own part, I have often blushed to see a gentleman, whom I know to have much more wit and learning than myself, and who was bred up with me at the University upon the same foot of a Liberal Education, treated in such an ignominious manner, and sunk beneath those of his own rank, by reason of that Character which ought to bring him honour.

Sincere religious worship, as we understand it to-day, seemed hardly to exist. There was practically no religious education and none of the many forms of social service which we now think so important a part of the work of the Church. Large numbers of people, such as the coal-miners of western England, had no religious association whatever.

A religious revival was, however, at hand. John Wesley and George Whitefield, two young men who had been trained for ministry in the Church of England, were its leaders. Fired with the conviction that religion was not merely a matter of the organization of churches and the foundation of creeds, but a living reality glowing in men's hearts, they set out to save the

souls of men and bring to them a vision of God's majesty and love. They preached where they could, sometimes in churches, sometimes in the open fields, to whoever cared to listen. All men were alike to them — coal-miners or aristocratic Londoners; and to most men and women who heard them they brought a new vision of God and a new hope of salvation. The established clergy and the wealthier classes derided the new preachers and their followers as "Method-ists," much as they had derided earlier religious enthusiasts as "Puritans." Gradually the Methodists adopted the name which had been given them in scorn, and organized societies for common religious worship, remaining, however, in the Church of England. It was not until the end of the century that they separated from the Church and became an independent religious organization.

The new religious movement was of tremendous importance. It gave to thousands who had had no connection with the Church a new spiritual life. It revived and deepened the religious faith of the various sects outside the Church. Finally it caused a revival of religious enthusiasm within the Church of England, making it impossible for the Church ever to sink as low as it had fallen in the days of Queen Anne.

Literary England in the early eighteenth-century was London, with its varied interests of politics, business, and society. The reading public had increased greatly, and it was now possible for a man to support himself by writing pamphlets, essays, and books. The day was gone when an author's sole opportunities for financial success were the theatre or the favor of a patron. A dedication to a noble lord was still of value to a book, but in the end a book's success was made by its wide circulation among cultivated people.

These people wanted to read something which directly reflected their own interests. They did not want mere amusement, or mere thrills. They did not want to be shocked or carried away to imaginary lands where life was bathed in a rose-colored haze. They distrusted profoundly "enthusiasm," eccentricity, impassioned emotion, fervor, oddity — in short, all those qualities which are the result of intense individuality reacting from the standard of thought and action developed by a stable and well-knit community. They admired common sense, correctness, polish, restraint, adherence to established forms and customs. They believed in moderation, in a well-bred avoidance of extremes. To them the most interesting subject for thought and reflection was mankind in its social relationships. "Nature," to them, was human nature; that was "natural" which was regarded by most educated men as the proper thing to do. They liked a pretty, well-arranged garden or a smooth and attractive field or park as much as we do now; but no gentleman of the early eighteenth-century would have understood our modern enthusiasm for wild scenery or for life out of doors.

In the literature of ancient Greece and Rome men of the eighteenth century found their favorite ideas admirably expressed. There was a literature of great antiquity which had held a position of authority in European civilization for three hundred years. It contained examples of every type. There were the great Greek epics, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the great Roman epic, Vergil's *Æneid*. There were the satires of Martial and Juvenal, which scornfully revealed the follies of fashionable Roman society — follies startlingly similar to those of fashionable English society of their own time. There were the famous critical works of the Greek

philosopher Aristotle, and the Epistles of the Roman poet Horace. There were pleasant pictures of Greek country-life in the *Idylls* of Theocritus and of Roman country-life in the pastoral poetry of Vergil. There were the histories of the Greek Thucydides and the Roman Tacitus, the orations of the Greek Demosthenes and the Roman Cicero. There were the glowing odes of the Greek Pindar, and the graceful and urbane odes of the Roman Horace. Reading these remains of ancient civilizations, realizing their dignity and their nobility, men readily came to believe that they could make little improvement upon them: that the best way to enrich English literature was to translate the ancient classics into lucid and dignified English verse and prose, or to model their own prose and poetry upon the great works of the past.

The great writer of the period, Alexander Pope (1688–1744), was a man who thoroughly represented the most cultivated literary ideals of his time. He was a Roman Catholic and therefore separated from any active participation in political life; he was a cripple and therefore separated from any active participation in the amusements and occupations of his time. He turned to the cultivation of his mind for amusement and for occupation. He lived at Twickenham near London, in touch with the most fashionable society of his time. His brilliant mind saw the follies and weaknesses of society and immortalized them in his poem, *The Rape of the Lock*. His knowledge of ancient literary criticism and of its imitations in France enabled him to give in his *Essay on Criticism* the most polished and quotable exposition of the literary creed of English men of letters. His adherence to the popular doctrine of common sense as the guiding rule of life, his hatred of enthusiasm and

novelty, made him the best exponent of the religious and ethical ideals of his time, in his *Essay on Man.* And his lack of greatness of spirit, his jealousy and pettiness, the breadth rather than the depth of his reading, make his *Dunciad* — a satire on all the literary men of his time with whom he disagreed — a lasting record of the shallowness which lay beneath the literary life of the time, just as brutality lay beneath its social elegance. Spiritually and imaginatively, Pope is a writer of little worth. But whoever loves elegance and polish in phrasing, vividness and point in satire, ease and quotability in criticism, and sententiousness in didactic verse, will regard Pope as a very important writer indeed.

Other writers whom everybody connects with the period are Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729). Addison gained his first success with a poem on one of Marlborough's victories, and Steele wrote plays; but the real fame of both men rests upon their essays. They were jointly responsible for three periodicals: the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian.* The first ran from 1709 to 1711, the second from 1711 to 1712, the third in 1713. These were not the first ventures of their kind, but they were the most successful, and they established a fashion which lasted throughout the century. The reason for their success was their novelty, their timeliness, their courage, their variety, their good humor, and their literary power. People were ready for a simple and easy form of reading matter. Three times a week with the *Tatler* and the *Guardian*, and daily with the *Spectator*, they could read a gently satirical essay, a pleasantly discursive criticism, a whimsical character-sketch, a short tale, or a pleasantly sentimental reminiscence. The periodical

essay was the eighteenth-century equivalent of our editorial page, "special feature" section, and weekly magazine. Except for the news sheets with their fragmentary information, utterly lacking in human interest, they were the sole periodical reading for a public which was becoming immensely interested in what was going on in the world.

The great literary achievement of the *Spectator* was the creation of the "Club," the central figure of which came to be Sir Roger de Coverley. Sir Roger, Will Wimble, Sir Andrew Freeport, Will Honeycomb, and the others gave body and continuity to the paper, and soon lent it some of the interest of a novel published serially. The "Sir Roger de Coverley Papers" remain to-day the most human and interesting essays of the eighteenth century.

The publications of Addison and Steele undoubtedly did much to hasten the reform of society which was under way. Always courageous and always good-humored, they had twice the effect of savage satire. They pointed out evils, but they did not rouse resentment. They showed men how to be gentlemen and yet be men of dignity, courtesy, and patience. Moreover, their clever characterizations and the plot — ever so loosely woven as it was — aided in the later development of the novel as a literary type.

In contrast to the impulsive kindliness of Steele and the dignified good-humor of Addison was the bitter indignation of Jonathan Swift (1667–1745). Swift was a man of great intellectual attainments, who never had a real chance to use them; a man of commanding personality, who never had a position of real command; a man of just and merciful nature, whose heart was continually lacerated by the injustice and cruelty of life.

The result was that his intellectual talents ran to bitter satire. In general he was on the side of the right, though at times he seemed to delight in satire for the pleasure of seeing his victims writhe. This is especially true of his *Gulliver's Travels*, which is undoubtedly one of the most famous books in the world. An elaborate satire on the politics of the day, on the scientific interests of members of the Royal Society, and on the follies and frailties of human nature in general, it has ended in becoming a children's book. Its brutality and its venom have been softened by time and expurgated by editors, until now it is nothing but a fascinating tale of travels in marvelous lands of pigmies, giants, and animals with human intelligence.

That the literary circles of the day could appreciate poetry which did not deal with their own interests, can be seen by the fame which James Thomson (1700–1748) secured through his *Seasons* — descriptive poems of country life in the four seasons of the year. Cultivated urban society has always delighted in literature which deals with country life. People are willing to read about a kind of life which they are unwilling to experience. To read about the robin seeking shelter from the storm in a Scotch cottage, brought to Thomson's admirers a kind of enjoyment which they never would have felt had they shivered over the peat fire with the Scotch cottagers.

Apart from the fashionable literary life of the period, lived a large group of men who wrote for their living with no pretensions to literary achievement. It was enough for them if their work was in demand, and if their ideas could be presented with sufficient clearness to have some influence upon public opinion. At their best these men were like modern journalists; at their

worst they were poor hacks, struggling in Grub Street on the edge of starvation.

Most important of the writers who worked on the verge of literature was Daniel Defoe (1659?–1731). He was a business man, a journalist, a pamphleteer, a public official, a political agent, a writer of verse, and a novelist. Like the modern journalist, he made "copy" of every political crisis, of every social question, and of every striking bit of news. On the accession of William and Mary he won profit with verses in support of William; but a few years later an elaborate satire on the Dissenters brought him to the pillory and to prison. In prison he began a periodical, the *Review*, which ran for ten years, at first twice a week, and then three times a week, commenting upon the political news of the day. Later he seized upon the popular excitement caused by the return of Alexander Selkirk, who had been marooned for four years on a lonely island in the South Pacific, and made his own name immortal with *Robinson Crusoe*. The book was instantly successful. Like all Defoe's books, it was, because of its graphic realism, believed to be a chronicle of actual experiences. From then on Defoe published a series of supposedly true narratives, written in the plainest and fullest detail. These books satisfied the natural craving of the ordinary man for story-telling, and made Defoe's name far better known than if he had written in a polished literary style for an audience of taste and culture.

For many generations the literature and the life of the early eighteenth-century made the period one of extraordinary reputation. It was called the "classic age" and the "Augustan age" of England. Men forgot its weaknesses and its evils and saw it only as it saw itself — the period of the flowering of urban culture,

the period of a fine and polished civilization, the period of an elegant and perfected literature. They looked upon it as a time when life was comfortable and settled, when there were no important changes in social or political life, when trade flourished and the British Empire grew in greatness and power. In our own time its reputation is not so high, because to-day we think of the periods of change, of restlessness, of achievement, and of discovery as the great periods.

X

THE AGE OF JOHNSON

The period that is named for Samuel Johnson is marked by a new feeling of toleration in respect to both politics and religion. The political interest of the people was waning. The old problems which had grown from the Revolution of 1688 were now settled. In 1745 Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, grandson of James II, landed in Scotland, raised five thousand clansmen, and set out for England. His adventure ended in a defeat at Culloden and in the stamping out of the last remains of feudalism in Scotland. The intense partisanship manifested in the effort to restore the Stuarts died, as interest was bound to die in kings who now were shorn of the most important of their powers. Because of this apathy, King George I and his successors of the House of Hanover had little difficulty in keeping the throne.

The power of the sovereign had been curtailed by the apparent increase in the power of Parliament. Party government through a Cabinet, headed by a premier who represented the dominant party, gave tangible evidence of the increasing control Parliament was securing in political affairs.

After 1740 the chief political interests of England were not at home, but in Europe, India, and America. A world-wide struggle developed between England and France over imperial power. In India the French were aiming at complete control of the Native States. In

America they hoped to hem in the English colonists along the narrow Atlantic seaboard, and keep for themselves the rich lands west of the Alleghenies. At intervals, for more than twenty years England had fought with France or Spain on the plains of India, on the old battlefields of Germany and Flanders, in the woods of Pennsylvania, in the West Indies, and on the shores of the St. Lawrence River. At last, in 1763, the struggle was ended by the Treaty of Paris, and the English found themselves in command of the sea and acknowledged control of India and America.

Meanwhile a new sovereign had come to the throne, determined to live up to the teaching of his German mother: "George, be a king!" George III did not intend to rule with the absolute power of the European kings of his time, nor to model his monarchy after that of the Stuarts; but he did intend to be his own Prime Minister and to build up a personal following in Parliament.

The real power now rested not with the people, nor even with the voters. (There were now in England only 160,000 voters in a population of about 8,000,000.) It lay rather with the few great lords who controlled the voters and sent their own nominees to the House of Commons. This practice had nothing illegal about it, however unjust it was. A man owned a certain number of votes by virtue of his standing in the community: a definite number he possessed if he were a university graduate; another number he might claim if his title were that of a duke; and yet another number accrued to him if with his holdings went villages.

Hence, by the lavish bestowal of titles and positions of power upon his followers, the king was able to gain a temporary, indirect control of Parliament.

George III with his friends now entered upon a course, which, though it provoked no really effective opposition in England, roused the English in America to such an extent that, by the American Revolution, England lost forever the greatest of her colonies and with them the prestige which years of warfare had built up for her in Europe. In 1763 England had emerged from six wars, the foremost European Power. In 1783 she was discredited and isolated.

Yet the constant warfare had produced little change in domestic affairs. Life went on much as before, in spite of victory or defeat. After all, the armies of the time were not large, and many of the troops in America were not English, but Hessians, whose services the English king had bought from a petty German ruler.

In many ways the domestic life of England showed remarkable growth. Wealth had greatly increased and was now widely distributed; agriculture made striking advances; important inventions were made, which were destined to bring on the greatest social revolution in the history of the world. Knowledge began to be diffused as never before; the humbler classes began to attract attention; and above all, there gathered in London one of the most famous groups in the history of English letters.

The merchant class — with the increasing importance of commerce — began to take on added social consequence. In those days the first of the great industrial fortunes began to be felt. That money was plentiful is evident from the tales left to us of the great sums won and lost in play at cards and games of chance. In this period the dandy, beau, or "macaroni," — as he was variously called, — appeared the arbiter of fashionable usage. He gave to the niceties of dress a consideration

hardly equaled by the ladies of the most splendid court of France. Because the matter of personal adornment outweighed all considerations of comfort, he wore not one but two massive, loudly ticking watches. He carried in winter a small barrel-shaped muff, not unlike those slung around the necks of the children of the early twentieth-century. His satin coat was often faced with silk of a contrasting or more delicate shade. At throat and wrists he wore a fall of lace. His waistcoat was usually gayer and more handsomely contrived than his coat. But upon the manner in which he tied his stock might often depend the extent of his social prestige!

Thackeray in his description of Harry Warrington, one of the leading characters in *The Virginians*, gives us a picture of the fortunate youth of the period: —

> His suits were still black, but of the finest cut and quality. "With a star and ribbon, and his stocking down, and his hair over his shoulder, he would make a pretty Hamlet," said the gay old Duchess [of] Queensberry, "and I make no doubt he has been the death of a dozen Ophelias already, here and amongst the Indians," she added, thinking not at all the worse of Harry for his supposed successes among the fair.
>
> Harry's lace and linen were as fine as his aunt could desire. He purchased fine shaving-plate of the toy-shop women and a couple of magnificent brocade bedgowns in which his worship lolled at ease and sipped his chocolate of a morning. He had swords and walking-canes, and French watches with painted backs and diamond settings, and snuffboxes enameled by artists of the same cunning nation. He had a levee of grooms, jockeys, tradesmen, daily waiting in his anteroom, and admitted one by one to him, over his chocolate, by the groom of the chambers.

Prizefighting, cockfighting, horseracing, and dancing were, next to gambling at cards, the most popular diversions of the day. The type of men attracted to great

fights, their retinue and arrival, are also shown us in *The Virginians:* —

> A crowd of London blackguards was gathered round the doors of this temple of British valor, together with the horses and equipages of a few persons of fashion, who came . . . to patronize the sport. A variety of beggars and cripples hustled around the young gentleman, and whined to him for his charity. Shoeblack boys tumbled over each other for the privilege of blacking his honour's boots; nosegay women and flying fruiterers plied Mr. Gumbo with their wares; piemen, pads, tramps, strollers of every variety hung round the battle-ground. A flag was flying upon the building; and on to the stage, accompanied by a drummer and hornblower, a manager repeatedly issued to announce to the crowd that the noble English sports were just about to begin.

Fashionable women of the time were for once unable to outshine the men in extravagance of costume. They depended for their own most striking effects of elegance upon exaggerated headdresses — coiffures that often towered to the height of two or even three feet, surmounted by the most intricate and elaborate arrangement of puffs, rolls, and curls. It was impractical — because of the time involved in constructing such an edifice — to dress the hair every day. For this reason ladies often slept for two or three nights without rearranging their hair. What repose they enjoyed must seem rather doubtful.

The other chiefly distinguishing point of their dress was the tightness of the waist. Since small waists were considered fashionable, ladies who desired social consideration strove by the use of tight corsets and cruel lacing to achieve what in many cases nature never intended them to have. So dogged was their devotion to this practice that many fainted with alarming frequency. This fashion brought its own train of maladies; and it

is thought to have been responsible for the fad of poor health affected by some very robust ladies and forced upon others by their silly enthusiasm for a pernicious fashion.

The hats which Gainsborough and Reynolds immortalized were of a size commensurate with the headdresses. The most popular type of trimming was that of several immense ostrich plumes. The effect produced by these hats in conjunction with the coiffures just described was startling.

When these highly artificial folk journeyed from London to their country seats they found travel precarious, but greatly facilitated over that which their immediate ancestors had known. Again from *The Virginians* comes our best record of transportation: —

> And the highroad a hundred years ago was not that grass-grown desert of the present time. It was alive with constant travel and traffic; the country inns and towns swarmed with life and gaiety. The ponderous wagon with its bells and plodding team; the light post coach that achieved the journey from the "White Hart," Salisbury, to the "Swan with Two Necks," London, in two days; the strings of pack horses that had not yet left the road; my lord's gilt post chaise-and-six with the outriders galloping on ahead; the country squire's great coach and heavy Flanders mares; the farmers trotting to market, or the parson jolting to the cathedral town on Dumpling, his wife behind on the pillion — all these crowding sights and brisk people greeted the traveler on his journey. Hodge the farmer's boy took off his hat, and Polly the milkmaid bobbed a curtsey, as the chaise whirled over the pleasant village-green, and the white-headed children lifted their chubby faces and cheered. The church spires glistened with gold, the cottage gables glared in sunshine, the great elms murmured in summer, or cast purple shadows over the grass.

Thackeray suggests that the footman was the most typical mark of elegance in the rich man's retinue.

Lacqueys, liveries, footmen — the old society was encumbered with a prodigious quantity of these. Gentlemen or women could scarce move without one, sometimes two or three vassals in attendance. Every theatre had its footmen's gallery; an army of the liveried race bustled around every chapel door; they swarmed in anterooms; they sprawled in halls and on landings; they guzzled, devoured, debauched, cheated, played cards, bullied visitors for vails [tips]; — that noble old race of footmen is well-nigh gone. A few thousand of them may still be left among us. Grand, tall, beautiful, melancholy, we still behold them on levee days with their nosegays and their buckles, their plush and their powder.

In the country of the eighteenth century resided one of the most popular of characters in fiction and history — the country squire. From the days of Addison's Sir Roger to the Squire introduced by Archibald Marshall, this character has been continuously present in English letters. Of him Thackeray says: —

To be a good old country gentleman is to hold a position nearest the gods and at the summit of earthly felicity. To have a large unencumbered rent-roll, and the rents regularly paid by adoring farmers, who bless their stars at having such a landlord as his honour; to have no tenant holding back his money — excepting just one, perhaps, who does so in order to give occasion to a good old country gentleman to show his sublime charity and universal benevolence of soul; to hunt three days a week, love sport of all things, and have perfect good health and good appetite in consequence; to have not only good appetite, but a good dinner; to sit down at church in the midst of a chorus of blessings from the villagers, the first man in the parish, the benefactor of the parish, with a consciousness of consummate desert, saying, "Have mercy upon us miserable sinners," to be sure, but only for form's sake, because the words are written in the book, and to give other folks an example; a G. O. C. G. a miserable sinner! So healthy, so wealthy, so jolly, so much respected by the vicar, so much honored by the tenants, so much beloved and admired by his family, amongst whom his story of grouse in

STOKE POGES CHURCHYARD

(Immortalized in Gray's "Elegy")

the gunroom causes laughter from generation to generation — this person, a miserable sinner!

Among the lesser poets of this period were Thomas Gray (1716–1771) with his fashionably sweet, sad *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, and William Collins (1721–1759) with his melancholy reveries.

Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) is important as a rediscovery of old English-Scottish ballads and Elizabethan songs. It stimulated interest in the beginnings of English literature, and offered a refreshing change from the highly moralistic, sententious verse of the time.

The superficial elegance of the period had its counterpart in literature. And yet there was growing up a group of writers who, while they admired elegance of expression quite as much as did the men of the preceding generation, were yet paying far more attention to ideas than to mere expression of them. The noteworthy literature of that time revolved about Samuel Johnson (1709–1784).

Of Johnson's circle the most conspicuous poet was Goldsmith (1728–1774). He was born in poverty at Pallas, Ireland, and he died forty-six years later in want in London. He is the author of *The Deserted Village*, a poem not so remarkable for its objective poetic qualities, as for the train of homesick memories it is likely to raise in the hearts of susceptible readers. His lack of understanding of the economic changes in landownership and agriculture through the shifting of population from country to city, makes him valueless as a political thinker. The pictures he gives us of tigers and pythons in the woods of Virginia bring smiles to the least sophisticated schoolboy. As a playwright he was much more successful than as a poet. His most popular comedy, *She Stoops to Conquer*, is still played.

Goldsmith's life was unhappy and reckless, marred by poverty and not greatly ameliorated by periods of affluence. He was never quite able to make the adjustment to life that every successful adult must make. He experimented with various callings instead of devoting himself to one. Instead of paying his bills when he had money, he was likely to contract new debts. He was sensitive to the point of agony about his personal appearance. The lack of beauty in his features he tried to offset by extravagant raiment. But Johnson's circle remembered him as, next to Garrick, the most sprightly entertainer of their group.

Another member of the Johnson circle was Edmund Burke (1729–1797) whose speech "On Conciliation with America" is still read as an example of the best English argumentative style. Yet another was Fanny Burney, the author of *Evelina*, and Lady Mary Montagu, the famous letter-writer, the woman to whose good sense and persistence we owe the introduction of inoculation for the prevention of smallpox. She it was who — by her example of a fashionable woman interested in art and letters — set the style for education for other women of her class.

But the figure which dominated all lesser lights of the period was Samuel Johnson himself. He was born in 1709 into the family of a small bookseller, a man of intelligence and of refined taste in literature. In the eighteenth century all booksellers were more or less well-read, being obliged to depend upon their own reading of a book for their ability to sell it.

Johnson had a lifelong struggle with disease, poverty, and melancholia. He early attained greater than average stature, a fact that, as any one who has watched boys at play will understand, gave him a considerable distinc-

tion among his fellows. He was frequently to be seen carrying smaller youngsters about on his broad and clumsy back. And — what was perhaps more remarkable yet — he was often called upon to entertain his cronies with stories, for of these his insatiable reading of his father's books had provided him with an infinite supply.

The inhumanity of youth to youth must early have impressed upon his consciousness his difference from ordinary boys. Coupled with the sensitiveness of a fine nature, and aggravated by the throes of melancholy induced by his attacks of scrofula, this sense of difference from his fellows must have been a bitter experience. Partly from ill-health, partly from poverty, he was educated chiefly by his contact with the wares of his father's shop. An ordinary boy turned loose among books would not have acquired Johnson's learning. His extraordinary curiosity led him to study Latin and Greek, and so great had been his reading among authors that when he went up to Oxford he had read more of the classics than most graduates. At college his poverty, his lawlessness, and the bitterness of his sensitive nature at slights, both real and fancied, added to his unhappiness. Because of poverty he left the university without taking a degree.

He began then what is still a precarious business — that of earning his living as a hack writer, compiling indices, writing prefaces, preparing pamphlets: in short, doing the thousand-and-one odd jobs that creative writers prefer to delegate to others. How galling such work must have been can hardly be understood by any save those who have desired to create and have been forced by circumstances or lack of ability to take up the purely mechanical side of authorship. In Johnson's time the situation of any man of letters was sad enough, that

of the hack, sad almost beyond description. To say that he frequently went to bed hungry, slept cold, and awoke in no wise to better his condition, would be no exaggeration. During the period of his greatest want he married a woman who, though much older than he and possessed of no charm obvious to others, retained his lifelong devotion.

With his didactic poem, *London*, and his *Life of Savage* he made his first slight literary success. Yet the persistence with which he followed up this narrow opening might well furnish an example to easily discouraged writers. He wrote at every opportunity. At every opportunity he besieged the publishers, until perforce there were none who could ignore him. His heavy bludgeoning wit, his categorical assertions, his many amusing prejudices, his utter sincerity, his unfailing pomposity, and ever in the background his tender heart, won him a place and made possible — with unceasing work on his part — his literary success.

When he was about fifty-three he received a pension from the king — a grant of money such as was often given by the crown to worthy literary men in recognition of the fact that they rarely earned enough to live comfortably, and offered to them as a means of encouragement. With this slight easement of his fortunes he entered upon his greatest period of activity. He assumed, with the consent of the rest of the literary world, a kind of dictatorship over letters. As he considered the English sentence should be constructed, so did the rest of the English-speaking world strive to form their sentences. As he decided a word should be used, so did the world use it. What he had found the best methods of the classicists, became the standard of English taste. In fact men like Burke, relying too ab-

From "The Amenities of Book-Collecting" by A. Edward Newton

MRS. THRALE'S BREAKFAST-TABLE

(Doctor Johnson at the left)

solutely upon Johnson's dicta, injured their own styles. The longer the sentence, the more Latinized its words, the heavier its import, the more successful he considered it. At this time, with Sir Joshua Reynolds — the founder of the Royal Academy — Johnson founded his famous literary club, to which Garrick, Boswell, Burke, Goldsmith, Fox, Gibbon, Pitt, and many other men whose interests were not necessarily literary belonged. At the meetings of this club occurred the famous conversations that Boswell so carefully and so minutely preserved.

Years of poverty and later years of success did not tend to make Johnson less assertive. He became rapidly pugnacious. His chief delight was to confound his antagonists. Conversation, as he saw it, was a verbal warfare waged with such weapons as pure sophistry, brilliant half-truths, oracular utterances of obvious facts, and a delivery that for ferocity and sarcasm has seldom been equaled. He, who had suffered bitter humiliation at the crude personalities of youth, descended to the use of personal ridicule to confound an opponent, if he could not worst him in any other way. And yet we know that the old philosopher must have possessed many endearing qualities, which made his wide circle of friends forget less prepossessing traits, and which enabled him to retain his hold over a whole generation of writers. He never forgot that he himself had been homeless, hungry, and cold. He gave, perhaps not intelligently, but generously. He kept at his own home an unappreciative group of forlorn creatures who could not otherwise have escaped the workhouse. He was intolerant, but absolutely honest; he was violent in his treatment of snobs, but unfailingly kind in his treatment of outcasts. He disputed in uncompromising fashion those from

whom he differed, yet so broad was the field of his exact knowledge that usually he spoke with authority.

Among the valuable books that he wrote was the first dictionary of the English language. Many of his definitions are admirable; many of them are prejudiced and crotchety. As a whole — especially because of copious illustrations from the authors whom he understood and liked — it is a piece of work which moves us to-day to admiration for his industry, his wide reading, and his power of trenchant phrasing.

This period brings us the first English novels. The form was almost accidentally evolved. Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), a printer and bookseller, in his leisure moments started a series of letters which were at first intended to be a pattern of perfect social correspondence for young ladies. For the sake of convenience he characterized the young girl who was supposedly writing the letters. Then suddenly he found his interest transferred from the form and method which he was exemplifying to the substance of the letters. The novel which resulted was loosely constructed, but it had a naïveté and a freshness possible only to a form so new as to escape all taint of being hackneyed. *Pamela*, as it was called, is essentially a novel of character. The sub-title, *Virtue Rewarded*, suggests the main theme. Pamela's sturdy allegiance to feminine self-respect is strongly portrayed. Incidentally the author emphasizes the virtues of gentle submission, patience, and unselfishness in women. Pamela is the typical careful, systematic housekeeper whose wifely duties are chiefly to find out what her husband desires and to govern her conduct accordingly. She is the pattern, too, of a much lovelier type — that which asks as an expression of its love nothing but the chance to serve.

Henry Fielding (1707–1754), who began his work with a parody of *Pamela*, ended by becoming deeply interested in the novel of adventure. His men are brave, boisterous, eye-filling figures, actuated by no over-refined scruples. They are, in short, the men with whom Fielding liked best to associate — men with a taste for the sensual pleasures of life, who, whatever their state of mind, must dine heartily and well, and drink recklessly. Nowhere can the reader find a better portrayal than in *Tom Jones*, his best novel, of the vigorous, full-blooded, brutal life of the times.

Richardson wrote his novels with his eyes upon the sentimental "vaporous" women, readily susceptible to fashionable gallantries, while Fielding was preoccupied with masculine virtues and vices, with frequent glances toward the grosser incidents of the life of inns, stage-coaches, and jails.

Tobias Smollett (1721–1771), the third great eighteenth-century novelist, who aimed to give a literal reproduction of mean and squalid situations, was the forerunner of the modern realistic writer. His pictures of the brutal sea-life of the time and of the hangers-on of London society leave nothing to the imagination. The public for which he wrote felt no disgust at a coarseness in no way more pronounced than its own, and was not disturbed by his method of piling up unpleasant detail to secure forceful expression.

The fourth novelist of the group, Laurence Sterne (1713–1768), the author of *Tristram Shandy*, is the humorist. His work was eccentric, sentimental, haphazard. He allowed his ideas to spill out on paper without troubling to arrange them in logical sequence, to sort, or to evaluate them. The business of discrimination he felt belonged properly to the reader, not to

the writer. But he did possess an uncanny ability to analyze certain phases of character, at the same time that he failed utterly to perceive what the most casual observer sees every day.

To the student of English literature the age of Johnson is of great interest. It saw the end of old England and the beginning of modern times. It was conservative and self-assured, and yet it bore within itself the seeds of revolution in politics, in economic life, and in literature. It prized the old, and steadfastly upheld the spirit of the eighteenth century at the very time that such writers as Gray and Collins were pointing the way to a renewed emphasis upon the importance of imagination in literature. We do not think of the Age of Johnson as favorable to novelty, yet it produced the latest comer in the field of literary art, the novel.

It was, moreover, a time of extraordinary achievement in many fields. Dr. Johnson's circle alone made of the second half of the eighteenth century a true Augustan Age. David Garrick, the great actor, who did much to revive a faithful and natural production of Shakespearean drama; Sir Joshua Reynolds, one of the greatest of English painters; Edmund Burke, one of the wisest of English statesmen; Oliver Goldsmith, whose *Vicar of Wakefield* and *She Stoops to Conquer* were lasting contributions to the novel and the drama; Edward Gibbon, whose massive *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* remains one of the greatest monuments of historical scholarship — these men alone would have made the age memorable. So long as good sense and sound thinking are valued, the Age of Johnson will remain a fascinating period for literary study.

XI

THE TRANSITION TO MODERN LIFE
1784–1832

1. The Industrial Revolution

The end of the eighteenth century saw three revolutions. The American colonies of Great Britain revolted from the mother country, and set up a government which was to prove the model for many later democracies. The people of France overthrew their rulers, and set up a government which spread ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity throughout Europe and ultimately led to a war which assumed proportions hitherto unknown. More important than either of these in its effect upon modern civilization, however, was the revolution in the industrial life of England.

The industrial revolution began with three great series of discoveries and inventions. The first was the invention of machinery for spinning and weaving cotton and woollen thread. The second was the development of steam-power. The third was the discovery that iron ore could be smelted into metallic iron by coal in the form of coke, instead of by charcoal. All these inventions and discoveries were spread over a series of years, but not until the end of the eighteenth century did they begin the transformation of England from an agricultural to an industrial country.

From early times England had raised large quantities of wool and had manufactured large quantities of woollen

cloth. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, there came a heavy demand for cotton goods. The East India Company had, early in the century, imported cotton cloth from India. Indian calicoes, muslins, and other familiar cotton fabrics became popular, especially for women's wear. The manufacturers of woollen goods, fearing a diminution of their own trade, secured the passage of an Act of Parliament prohibiting the importation of Indian fabrics. To meet the demand there rose the opportunity for cotton-manufacture in England, which would give people the fabrics which they desired and yet would not require an increase of imported goods. It was under the stimulus of this demand that a change in textile manufactures took place which, in time, totally altered the character of modern life.

Originally, wool was spun into yarn by bunching a mass of it upon a stick, known as a distaff, and then drawing out a thread which was attached to a round weight called a spindle. The spindle was rotated rapidly in order to twist the thread. The yarn thus obtained was taken by a weaver who — on a frame known as a loom — wove it into cloth by the simple process long familiar to almost all races. Cotton — at first very rare in England, because the cotton plant grows only in warm climates and the raw material had to be imported — is manufactured into cloth in the same way. Cotton, however, being weaker and less elastic than wool, was much harder to spin into a tough thread and much harder to weave into a strong cloth. The history of the textile industry is the record of successive attempts to spin thread and weave cloth faster and better than could be done by the original hand-processes. In general it may be said that spinning in England was the

work of women; weaving, which required greater strength, was the work of men.

A series of inventions increased the output of thread. In 1785 a loom was invented which could be worked by power, and all the machinery necessary for a revolution in methods of the manufacture of cloth was available.

No real industrial revolution, however, could have come without the development of suitable power for operating the spinning and weaving machines. This need was met by the development of the steam engine in its modern form by James Watt. Application of steam power to a cotton-mill was made for the first time in 1785.

The modern use of machinery was also dependent upon an adequate supply of good iron and steel. For many centuries iron had been smelted from the ore in England by the use of charcoal. In time, as the forests in England began to disappear and charcoal consequently became scarcer and more expensive, the manufacture of iron declined. It was found, however, after much experimenting, that iron could be smelted by the use of coal in the form of coke. From this time the use of iron in large quantities became possible, since England, with fields of iron-ore and of coal lying close together, could produce cheap iron in abundance.

Machinery, steam power, and abundant supplies of coal and iron, together with a great demand for manufactured goods, — especially cotton cloth, — made possible the growth of industrial England.

An added factor in bringing about the modern age was a far-reaching change in agriculture. In former times farming communities worked their land together, owning certain "common rights" to fuel and pasture on tracts of land called "waste." Farming communities

were isolated by bad roads, and hence were forced to be largely self-supporting, producing food for local consumption rather than for general sale.

During the eighteenth century important discoveries in agriculture and in cattle-raising made farming a business rather than a community enterprise. It became profitable to produce food for consumption in the rapidly growing industrial centres. Landowners began to see that the old system of farming in common was not nearly so profitable as farming on single estates owned by one man, who hired labor as he needed it. A widespread movement began toward "inclosure," that is, the dispossession of small tenants from their common rights in cultivated land and in "waste," and their degradation to the status of laborers on wages. Many men were driven off the land altogether. The result was a steady movement toward the towns, and the creation of a larger class of wage-earners living from hand to mouth than England had ever before known.

As a result of these changes there arose new social problems of far-reaching importance. Factories rapidly appeared in towns which hitherto had been mere villages; crowded slums developed; and child-labor on a large scale came as a result. Men who had made a decent living under old conditions now found themselves reduced to starvation wages. A new class of rich manufacturers appeared, whose chief desire was to make money as fast as possible.

In despair, men began to fight with violence economic changes which they could not understand. Rioters broke machines and set fire to factories, but the government speedily put down all such attempts to restore the old order, and hanged or transported the ringleaders.

A large portion of the working class were reduced almost to the margin of starvation. When they sank below that margin their only resource was the "poor relief" paid by the community. The result was widespread pauperization, swarming slums, black ignorance, brutal oppression, and all the misery of a helpless working population.

The solution of the new social problems was made difficult by the widespread belief in the economic doctrines of Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo.

Smith had in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776) argued against the theory that a nation prospered best by restricting foreign trade by Navigation Acts and protective tariffs, and had laid the foundation for the idea that free competition in commerce and industry was necessary for the greatest development of a nation's wealth. Malthus's *Essay on Population* (1798 and 1803) set forth the theory that population tends to increase in geometrical progression (2:4:8:16:32:64 and so on); but that the means of subsistence increase in arithmetical progression (2:4:6:8:10:12). Hence, he argued, grinding poverty is the fate of mankind except as such checks as war, pestilence, or limitation of births tend to keep down the increase of population. Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817) maintained that there is only a certain amount of wealth available for wages, and that workmen's attempts to raise their wages meant necessarily that if some were successful their fellow-workmen's wages must be reduced. Accepting these economic theories as "laws," men adopted a callous attitude toward the social misery which they saw about them. Such things had to be, they felt; and though, of course, a good man must be charitable, he could not expect to interfere with economic law. It is

small wonder that Carlyle called the political economy of the early nineteenth-century the "dismal science."

2. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars

The industrial revolution proceeded so quietly and so gradually that men did not realize its importance until long after society had completely changed. It is only in our own time that students have come to see that the invention of a machine may be of far more importance in human history than a "famous victory."

For men who lived in the years from 1793 to 1815, war was the dominating fact. The French Republic caused a revolution in political thought, and the complications resulting from the fall of the Napoleonic Empire which succeeded it caused disturbances affecting Europe for nearly a century.

In 1789, when a mob in Paris attacked the great Bastille prison and razed it to the ground, it seemed to liberty-loving men that a new dawn of freedom was breaking. The poet Wordsworth, looking back to that time, said: —

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven! — Oh, times,
> In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
> Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
> The attraction of a country in romance!
> . . . . The inert
> Were roused, and lively natures rapt away!
> They who had fed their childhood upon dreams,
> . . . . .
> Were called upon to exercise their skill,
> Not in Utopia, subterraneous fields,
> Or some secreted island, Heaven knows where!
> But in the very world, which is the world
> Of all of us — the place where in the end
> We find our happiness, or not at all!

But dreams of the world-wide spread of liberty, equality, and fraternity disappeared for Englishmen who found themselves at war — first with the Republican armies of France and then with the Imperial armies of Napoleon. For over twenty years England was fighting on sea and land, at a heavy cost in men and money. England lived in constant fear of invasion by the French, and the army and navy became her central interest. The fear of an invasion by Napoleon was always present. Revolutionary ideas, however innocently expressed, were ruthlessly stamped out and free speech became impossible. The fear of spies and what we have come to call "propaganda" poisoned men's minds against their neighbors. The cost of food soared, and hunger and disease stalked through the land.

In 1812 England found herself involved in war with the United States over the right to search American vessels for British sailors — a war which ended indecisively, with little result except a renewed legacy of misunderstanding between the two countries. In 1815 was fought the Battle of Waterloo, when the English under the Duke of Wellington, assisted by the Prussians, put an end to the power of Napoleon.

When the war ended England found herself with an enormous debt, with a small group of landowners and manufacturers who had become rich, and with a large mass of poverty-stricken farm-laborers and factory-workers. Any attempt at protest by the masses was promptly put down as rebellion. In 1819, when a great crowd of men assembled peaceably for a meeting in Manchester to demand reforms, a company of soldiers charged them, killing a few and injuring hundreds. The "Peterloo massacre" was applauded by those in power as praiseworthy repression of an attempt at in-

surrection. The upper classes saw themselves in danger of being overwhelmed in a revolution. A writer[1] of later times says: —

> Those who are old enough to have a distinct recollection of those times are astonished to think how great was the panic which could exist without any evidence at all; how prodigious were the Radical forces which were always heard of, but never seen; how country gentlemen, well armed, scoured the fields and lanes and met on heaths, to fight the enemy who never came; and how, even in the midst of towns, young ladies carried heavy planks and ironing-boards to barricade windows, in preparation for sieges from thousands of rebels whose foot-fall was listened for in vain through the darkness.

3. The Beginning of Reform

But the period of reaction after the war could not last. A new generation was rising, to whom the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution and the dread of Bonaparte were only fears of the past. After 1815 men began thinking once more of the ideas of freedom and equality which had preceded the era of revolution, and they saw the injustice, the cruelty, and the degradation about them with a clearer vision than had their fathers.

Social reform, however, had to wait while the question of political reform burned brightly. The old method of Parliamentary representation was now completely discredited. With the rise of cities and the growth of a rich manufacturing-class the old system of representation by the appointees of a few powerful nobles could not permanently endure. Until 1832, when the great Reform Bill was passed and the modern Parliamentary government of England began, the air was thick with political turmoil.

So far as social life was concerned, the England of this

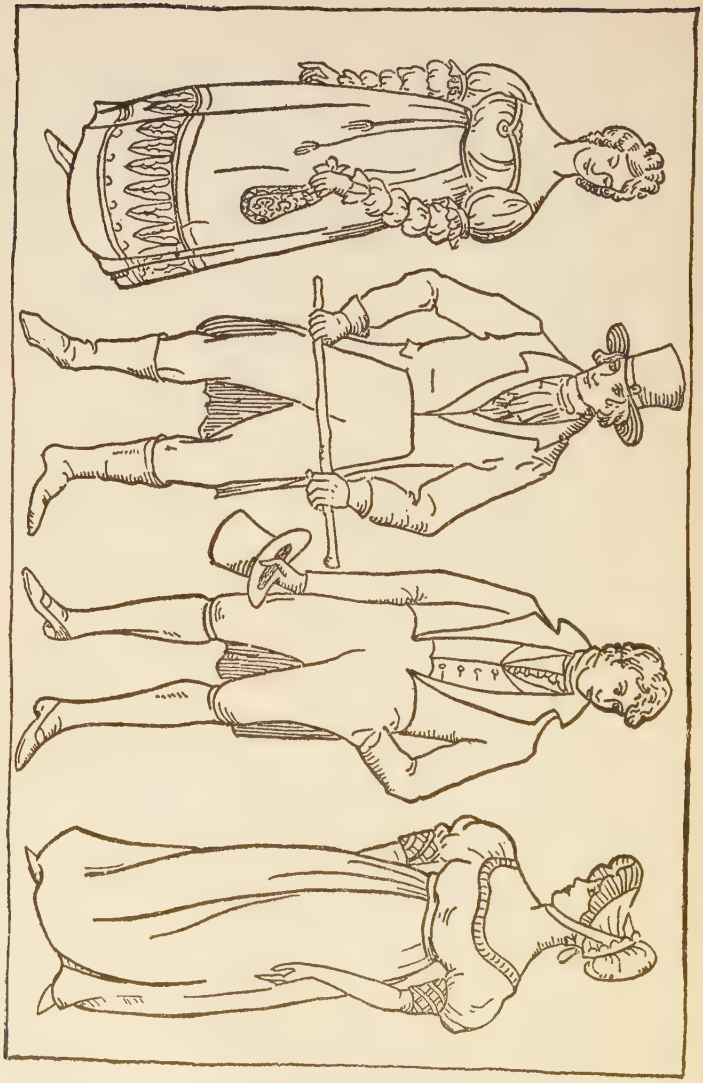
[1] Harriet Martineau, *History of the Peace;* I, 319.

period of transition was not greatly different from the England of the eighteenth century. As a Victorian writer puts it: —

Rank was still held in the ancient reverence; religion was still that of the eighteenth-century Church; the rights of labor were not yet recognized; there were no trade unions; there were no railways to speak of; nobody traveled except the rich; their own country was unknown to the people; the majority of country people could not read or write; the good old discipline of Father Stick and his children, Cat-o'-Nine-Tails, Rope's-End, Strap, Birch, Ferule, and Cane, was wholesomely maintained; landlords, manufacturers, and employers of all kinds did what they pleased with their own. . . . Elections were carried by open bribery; the Civil Service was full of great men's nominees; the Church was devoured by pluralists; . . . Heavy goods traveled by the canals and navigable rivers; the hackney coach, with its pair of horses, lumbered slowly along the street; the cabriolet was the light vehicle for rapid conveyance, but it was not popular; the omnibus had only recently been introduced; and there were no hansom cabs. . . . If you wanted to send a parcel anywhere in the country, you confided it to the guard of the coach; if to a town address, there were street messengers. . . .

As soon as the Battle of Waterloo was fairly fought . . . the Continental professors, historians, political students, and journalists all began with one accord to prophesy the approaching downfall of Great Britain. . . . It was pointed out that there was the dreadful dead-weight of Ireland, with its incurable poverty and discontent; the approaching decay of trade . . . the enormous weight of the National Debt; the ruined manufacturers; the wasteful expenditure of the Government in every branch; the corrupting influence of the Poor Laws; the stain of slavery; the restrictions of commerce; the intolerance of the Church; the narrowness and prejudice of the Universities; the ignorance of the people; their drinking habits; the vastness of the Empire. . . .

No; there could be no doubt . . . the factories were choked with excessive production; poverty stalked through the country . . . the children were growing up in ignorance and neglect inconceivable; what could come of all this but ruin?



Costumes of the Early Nineteenth-Century

Though England was to pass safely through this period, dark days were ahead.

4. Literature

It is little wonder that except for the novels of Jane Austen (1775–1817) which picture with kindly discernment the life of the comfortable gentlefolk of the time, and the poems of George Crabbe (1754–1832) which picture with savage incisiveness the bitter life of the poor, the literature of the time is chiefly interested in the search for an escape from life. Political turmoil, war, and social changes caused agitation and unrest which made men more ready to forget life than to face it. Many a man was willing to say with Wordsworth: —

> The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers;
> Little we see in Nature that is ours;
> We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!
> . . . Great God! I'd rather be
> A pagan suckled in a creed outworn —
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
> Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn.

This weariness of actuality, this desire to create a world of greater beauty, hope, power, and interest than the world of every day, this search for "the light that never was on sea or land" has given to these years the name, Romantic Period.

Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) found in the legends of Scotland and in the pages of English and Continental history his world of adventure, chivalry, daring, and danger, where — against a background of history — imaginary heroes and heroines won their way to fortune and to happiness. Scott began his work with the recovery

of old Scottish ballads. Then he popularized the Highland legends and British history in long narrative poems such as *The Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion*. As popular interest in these waned, he began the Waverley novels, a series which seized upon the imagination of England and all Europe, and firmly established historical fiction.

The poems of Robert Burns (1759–1796), the Scottish ploughman, had in earlier years interested a fashionable society somewhat bored with conventional literature. His fresh pictures of Nature, his reworking of old legends, his poems of the home life of simple peasants, and his lilting songs of love, revelry, and tender sentiment gave pleasure to Scotch and English alike. Radicals chanted his "A man's a man for a' that"; conservatives sang "Should auld acquaintance be forgot"; and the blood of his compatriots beat faster to the music of "Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled."

Other writers found their refuge in a land of dreams. The poet William Blake (1757–1827) wrote his visions and his mystical imaginings in songs of uncanny, piercing clearness and in prophetic chants of half-mad obscurity. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), philosopher and critic as well as poet, sought in his poems to give reality to the supernatural — in his own words, "to transfer from our inward nature a human interest and a semblance of truth sufficient to procure for these shadows of imagination that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith." In *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel* one must surrender himself to the glamour of an unreal world, to the charm of a fairyland, which has for all men a never-dying interest. Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859), a writer of prose of exuberant imaginative power, showed

in the *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* his preoccupation with the morbid and fantastic.

While his friend Coleridge was exploring dreamland, William Wordsworth (1770–1850), the most influential poet of the period, sought to find a refuge from the weight of the world in Nature and in the life of simple rural people. His first important volume, *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), written in collaboration with Coleridge, marks the beginning of the modern movement in poetry. The poetry of the eighteenth century had outlived its vigor and vitality. It had become, by the end of the century, the voice of a bygone age. The time was ripe for innovation. In his preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, published in the edition of 1800, Wordsworth sets forth his position: —

> The principal object, then, proposed in these poems was to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them, throughout, so far as was possible, in a selection of language really used by men, and at the same time to throw over them a certain coloring of imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect; and further, and above all, to make these incidents and situations interesting by tracing in them, truly though not ostentatiously, the primary laws of our nature. . . . Humble and rustic life was generally chosen, because in that condition the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer language.

For fifty years Wordsworth strove to teach men to see the beauty in simple things, in simple people, and in simple language, preaching the kinship of man with Nature, and the power of noble ideals of goodness and truth. In politics, he who had once been fired by the spirit of revolution now became a conservative; but his poetry helped to bring about a revolution in literature.

Still other writers found in books and in the analysis of their own personalities a refuge from the complexities of daily life. The study of the literature of the past took on new life. No longer, as in the eighteenth century, was it the task of the critic to analyze and to judge. The critics of the romantic period aimed at appreciation, recording the effect which literature had upon their sensitive taste. To William Hazlitt (1778–1830) and Charles Lamb (1775–1834) reading was an adventure. In Elizabethan literature, particularly, they discovered a mine of unexplored treasure. Equally important was their development of the personal essay, the record of their own feelings and thoughts. Whimsicality, humor, enthusiasm — qualities of prose style which had been neglected in the preceding period, were now given full play.

The literature of the period reached its highest point in the work of three young men, George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824), John Keats (1795–1821) and Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822). These came to manhood when the force of the French Revolution had been spent, and when the world seemed — to young men of ardent and generous natures — hopelessly backward and dull. Each represents a phase of the spirit of youth: Byron, the spirit of revolt from conventionality; Shelley, the spirit of idealism; Keats, the spirit of love and beauty.

Byron felt the sham and hypocrisy of society and the weight of custom and tradition. In *Childe Harold*, a long descriptive poem, he portrays a disillusioned young man wandering over Europe and finding in Nature in its grander aspects, especially in the sea and the mountains, some comfort for a troubled soul. Childe Harold visits the storied cities and the battlefields, and thrills

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GRASMERE CHURCH, ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

(near Wordsworth's home)

with the romance of the great deeds of the past. In *Don Juan* he adopts a tone of cynical disillusion. In this poem his hero has many adventures and emotional experiences, finding them all, in the end, dust and ashes.

Shelley's idealism first took the form of a burning ardor to free the world from sin and pain. To his sensitive heart human suffering was like physical pain. His imagination, "all air and fire," dreamed glorious dreams, as in *Prometheus Unbound* and in *Hellas*, of a recreated world. He sings: —

The world's great age begins anew,
  The golden years return,
The earth doth like a snake renew
  Her winter weeds outworn;
Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam,
Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.

. . . . .

O cease! must hate and death return?
  Cease! must men kill and die?
Cease! drain not to its dregs the urn
  Of bitter prophecy.
The world is weary of the past,
O might it die or rest at last!

As years went on, however, and the world did not grow perceptibly better, Shelley turned his mind to dreams of ethereal beauty, of life freed from the trammels of flesh, until his vision pierced beyond human life, and he could sing in *Adonais*: —

The One remains, the many change and pass;
Heaven's light forever shines, Earth's shadows fly;
Life, like a dome of many-colored glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity,
Until Death tramples it to fragments.

To John Keats beauty was life's greatest gift to man. He saw the beauty of flowers and trees, of old stories of love and mystery, of the life of ancient Greece, of myths of shadowy gods and goddesses,

> Of fair-haired Milton's eloquent distress,
> And all his love for gentle Lycid drowned;
> Of lovely Laura in her light green dress,
> And faithful Petrarch gloriously crowned.

To him

> A thing of beauty is a joy for ever;
> . . . . .
> Spite of despondence, of the inhuman dearth
> Of noble natures, of the gloomy days,
> . . . . .
> Some shape of beauty moves away the pall
> From our dark spirits.

None of these great poets were truly appreciated in their short lifetime. They were hounded out of England to die abroad, they were maligned and slandered in the magazines of the day. Few men were sufficiently dissatisfied with life as it was, to understand this reaction. Certainly the smug Briton of that day had no desire to follow these poets in their search for a refuge from reality.

Few periods are more worthy of study than the period of transition. Upon the inventions of these years is built the whole fabric of modern industrial life. Out of the Napoleonic wars and the international settlements following them came the disturbance of Europe in the nineteenth century and the greatest war in history in the twentieth. From the economic thought of the time came the ideas and principles which still, in large measure, govern modern business. And from the literature of the time, so piercing in its imaginative vision, came modern literature and modern literary criticism. It is safe to say that no one in our own time can understand the world in which he finds himself, without some knowledge of the eventful years from 1785 to 1832.

XII

THE VICTORIAN PERIOD

1. 1832–1848

The political history of England after 1832 is chiefly a record of reforms in every field of English life. Parliament became more and more responsive to the wishes of the people, the rule of the few was abandoned for the rule of the many, ancient abuses and tyrannies were swept away, and an abhorrence of cruelty and suffering became the most potent influence in legislation. Reforms, however, were not easily accomplished; they were the result of persistent agitation, steady pressure upon public opinion, and above all, the presentation of overwhelming evidence of brutality and injustice. Today we look upon the years from 1832 to 1848 as a time of noteworthy social advance, but to the people of the time, who saw the occasion for the reforms and who endured the hardships which made them necessary, they were years of bitterness, strife, and gloomy foreboding.

A large portion of the population was not benefited by the Reform Bill of 1832. This bill gave the franchise to practically all persons of the upper and middle classes, but not to the agricultural laborers or to the workingmen of the towns and cities. Yet it was these people who most needed the chance for free expression. In the mines and mills of England, in the fields and in the small workshops, there existed a slavery as bad as that which enchained the negroes in the West Indies.

The negroes were freed in 1833 at a cost of £20,000,000, and in the same year Parliament passed the first decisive legislation to end the suffering, ignorance, and degradation which had been the lot of little children working in the factories. In the coal mines women worked fourteen and sixteen hours a day, employed literally as beasts of burden, crawling on their hands and knees in the narrow passages, and dragging behind them loaded cars. For hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children life was a desperate struggle with starvation, without hope of relief except by death. Wealth grew with the tremendous growth of the factory system; but this wealth was the product of broken bodies and starved minds. When the reformers in the new Parliament urged that English women and children be protected from industrial slavery, they were bitterly attacked. It was urged that people had a right to work as they chose without Parliamentary interference, that industries varied so much that adequate regulation was impossible, that it was better for people to work steadily than to be wasting their time idling, and that free competition in the end would settle matters better than legislation.

To add to the prevailing misery of the industrial classes, the price of food was kept high by means of a tariff which provided that foreign wheat should not be imported until English wheat had reached a prohibitively high price. The English landowners had profited by high prices in time of war, and they had no intention of diminishing their profits because the wages of factory operatives were low. They felt that if the factory owners were to become rich in the new industries, farmers ought to be protected from the competition of wheat imported from Europe and America.

At first there seemed to be no hope of change. The working people could do little — they had no education and no chance for self-expression. Communication was still costly and slow. They could, and they did occasionally, break out in fierce protests and in riots, but violence was speedily put down by the soldiers. Gradually the feeling grew that their only hope lay in further political reforms. If they had votes — they argued — they could send representatives to Parliament through whom their needs might be expressed. In time they began to organize into groups which crystallized their demands into what was known as a People's Charter: universal male suffrage, the annual election of Parliament, vote by secret ballot, abolition of the property qualification required of members of Parliament, payment of members of the House of Commons, and the division of the country into equal electoral districts. The adherents of this charter came to be called Chartists. Yet they had little effect upon the ruling classes, who believed that all Chartists were violent agitators, planning murder and pillage in the manner of the French Revolution. Whatever sympathy they aroused was counteracted by the instinctive hatred of Englishmen for violence and terrorism — even when that violence and terrorism were only a product of the imagination of comfortable people who did not want their feelings harrowed or their power disturbed.

Far more influential than the Chartists were the small group of humanitarian reformers in Parliament, whose sense of justice was outraged by the suffering which they saw all round them. They could not secure sweeping changes, but they did secure the passage of laws which paved the way for real industrial reform. In 1833 they secured the passage of the Act (page 208) limiting the

work of children in factories to eight hours a day and the work of young persons under eighteen to sixty-nine hours a week. Later came an Act prohibiting forever the employment of women and girls underground in the mines. Children were not to be employed unless they were at least ten years old, and their hours of work were limited. It was not until 1847 that the work of women and young persons engaged in textile factories was reduced by law to ten hours between six A.M. and six P.M.

Even then, however, terrible abuses remained in many fields of labor. The children on the farms worked as hard as ever. In the potteries they were cruelly treated. One of the most pitiful abuses of child labor was the employment of little boys as chimney sweeps. Houses often had many chimneys and the common method of cleaning these was to send little boys up through them to brush down the dirt and soot. The boys were forced to climb up from the fireplaces by working their elbows and knees against the sides of the chimneys. They suffered from bruises; they were choked by soot; they were often burned; and they were sometimes suffocated when caught in particularly narrow chimneys. They were beaten and starved by the master sweeps who practically held them in slavery. As public sympathy for the sooty waifs was roused, they gained a certain romantic notoriety. Stories spread about the kidnapping of children of good families to be sold to a sweep, and tales were told of boys who emerged from the chimneys they had cleaned and recognized the bedrooms in which they had once slept. It was only in 1864 after great agitation by the reformers and violent protest from the master sweeps, — and protest too from householders who felt that their smoky chimneys could be cleaned only in the good old

way — that the inhuman trade of chimney-sweeping was abolished.

The reformers also turned their attention to abuses in the navy. After the advocates of "the good old days" had argued at great length that the British navy would be ruined, the practice of impressment of sailors for service in the Royal Navy was ended in 1839. It had been the custom for "press gangs," composed of sailors and officers of the Royal Navy, to scour the seaport towns for recruits. Any able-bodied man might be kidnapped without his family's having the slightest notion of his fate, thrown aboard ship, and forced into months or even years of naval service. Press gangs were said to have raided the streets of seaport towns like bands of slave-hunters. After the abolition of the press gangs came an improvement in the treatment of the sailors. Flogging was forbidden, and the inhuman system of treating sailors as if they were brutalized convicts came to an end.

Crime and punishment occupied the attention of humane men and women for many years. In 1837 four hundred and thirty-eight offenses were still punishable by death; in 1839 the number fell to fifty-six. Within a few years it came to be understood that the death penalty should be inflicted only upon murderers. It was only after many years, however, that public executions were abolished.

The reform of prisons — which had always been barbarous dens of misery, vice, and disease — was slow. The reformers were ridiculed as sentimentalists who wished criminals to live in ease and enjoyment, thereby freeing punishment of its terrors and leaving society to be overwhelmed by crime. In the end, however, humanity won over conservatism, and a system of prison

administration was devised, which, though open to great improvement, showed an immense advance. With the reform of prisons came the abolition of "transportation" — the system whereby convicts who escaped hanging were sent to Australia and other foreign possessions of England. As the new country became more thickly settled, the position of the transported convict became worse and worse, until the protests of the Australian colonists and the indignation of Englishmen over the brutality and degradation of convict settlements put an end to the system forever.

With the reform of prisons and the softening of punishments, came a decrease in crime. Sensible administration of the law made men less violent and brutal. With the establishment of a modern police-force, by Sir Robert Peel, began the efficient administration of justice which characterizes modern England.

The Chartists could do little but agitate; the reformers could do little but secure isolated reforms, and pave the way for more thoroughgoing changes in years to come; but the Anti-Corn-Law League, founded in 1838, by thorough organization, able leadership, and powerful representation in Parliament brought about changes which struck at the root of discontent and misery.

The movement for the free importation of wheat began in 1838 in Lancashire, the centre of manufacturing, at a time when the nation was suffering from a serious commercial crisis. The leaders of the movement were Richard Cobden and John Bright, men of education and some wealth, who were connected with manufacturing and who were powerful in reasoning and oratory, and devoted to the principle of free trade. For all their energy, their enthusiasm, and their intellectual power, they might not have succeeded in their object had it

not been for the famine of 1847 in Ireland — one of the most terrible famines ever known in Europe. The potato crop, the main food of the Irish peasants, failed in both 1845 and 1846, and within two years one fourth of the population of Ireland died of starvation and disease. With such conditions in Ireland, it was obviously disgraceful not to allow cheap food to enter the country.

Added to the influence of the Irish famine were the hunger and discontent prevailing in England. Before 1834 the agricultural population had been practically pauperized by the poor laws, which provided that anybody who could show that he was penniless was entitled to relief from the district in which he lived. The result was that farmers paid their laborers starvation wages and left the community to make up the difference by charity. In 1834 the poor law was changed. Henceforth a pauper had to live in the workhouse on barely enough to keep him alive. Had there been plenty of work, the reform of the poor law would not have caused actual starvation; but the shortage of work combined with low wages and the restriction of charity brought large numbers of people close to starvation. Country folk took to stealing turnips from the fields in order to keep themselves alive, and city folk, unable to get to the fields, lived on what little they could secure from charity. The combination of the Irish famine, of twelve thousand families in Manchester supported by charity, of turnip-stealing, and of rioting and theft by men made desperate by starvation, was too much for Parliament. In 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed and the price of wheat immediately fell.[1]

In 1848 discontent came to a head all over Europe.

[1] It must be remembered that "corn" in England means wheat, and not — as in America — Indian maize.

From Germany, Hungary, Italy, and France came reports of revolutionary outbreaks. It seemed as if the last hour of autocratic rule had come. In Germany the revolutionists extorted from the king of Prussia promises of a liberal government. The Hungarians under Louis Kossuth seemed about to secure their independence from Austria. Revolt burst into flame all over Italy. In France King Louis Philippe was driven out and a republic was proclaimed. The revolutionary spirit showed itself in England in a last demonstration by the Chartists. A great meeting was planned in London, and an immense petition was prepared for presentation to Parliament in behalf of the People's Charter. Londoners trembled at the thought of revolution. Soldiers were mobilized and large numbers of men volunterered as special policemen. But the English were not ready for revolution. Had there not been reforms, and had the Corn Laws not been repealed, there might have been sufficient desperation to work up something of a popular uprising. As it was, the meeting and the petition were smaller than the Chartists expected, the leaders were easily frightened by the soldiers, and the demonstration collapsed.

Within a short time the period of revolution was over in Europe. The king of Prussia repudiated his concessions and imprisoned or drove from the country large numbers of the revolutionists; the Austrian king, with the aid of Russia, overwhelmed the Hungarians; the Italian revolts were crushed, and revolutionary agitation seemed to have come to an end. In England industrial conditions improved, and happier days came with the middle of the century.

While the reformers were working for political and social justice, the industrial transformation of England

continued. With the development of machinery the two basic commodities, coal and iron, grew steadily in importance.

The effect of the railway upon English life was nothing short of revolutionary. It made possible an immense increase in trade and manufactures, because through its use transportation and communication became both quick and cheap; it created a huge business in the manufacture of rails, cars, and hundreds of other necessities for railroad operation; it created new employment for thousands of men in construction, maintenance, and operation; it greatly increased the business of the stock market with attendant opportunities for investment and speculation; it brought about wider travel and a breaking down of local prejudices; and it led to the disappearance of the great business of travel by stagecoach. With the coming of the railway, the romance of old-fashioned travel was doomed to disappearance — the leisurely and often hazardous journeys in coaches, the dash through the country in post chaises, the slow and tedious progress in freight wagons, the jolly dinners at roadside inns, the dark stories of dangers to belated travelers, the horns and the postilions, and all the trappings of the good old days. The coming of the railway hastened the concentration of people in factory-towns and mining-villages, and the depopulation of agricultural districts. With the railway and the steamship began the free exchange of goods and the free emigration and immigration which are such important facts in the modern world.

With the development of industry came the development of science. Astronomy made important progress. In the field of physics Faraday made some of his most important discoveries in electricity. Great interest in

agricultural chemistry arose. Sanitary science was encouraged by a series of Acts of Parliament aiming at the prevention of epidemics of smallpox and typhus fever by greater care in sewage-disposal in the large cities.

With reforms in political and industrial life, came reforms in the relation of the Church of England to the State. But the most important fact in the religious life of the period was the so-called Oxford Movement (sometimes called the Tractarian Movement) which stirred the Church of England to its depths.

A group of deeply religious young men at the University of Oxford felt that the Church was in danger from certain tendencies to neglect fundamental truths. They turned for inspiration to the Christianity of the early centuries and reaffirmed the historic identity of the Church of England with the early Catholic Church. They urged a return to some of the practices which had prevailed before the sixteenth century and by their sincerity, their intellectual power, and their conviction, they began a revival of religious earnestness which left a permanent mark upon the Church of England. The most interesting figure in the movement was John Henry Newman (1801–1890), a man of great personal charm, of extraordinary literary ability, and of saintly character. Newman and many of his followers found that their ideal led them nearer and nearer to Roman Catholicism. At last, after anxious searching of heart, Newman became a Roman Catholic. Several English Protestants followed his example, and the Roman Catholic group in England, strengthened by distinguished converts, assumed a position of power and influence such as it had not possessed since the Reformation.

With the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 the

social life of the time began to take on a tone of quiet respectability. The days of gayety and half-concealed immorality were over. The young queen's marriage to Prince Albert — a German of studious tastes, deeply interested in science, music, and art — and their uneventful, happy home-life tended to make the change more and more marked. Dueling, which had flourished in the early part of the century, disappeared. The careful observance of Sunday began. The picturesque and romantic life of Old England give way to sobriety, restraint, and repression.

The new tone in social life tended gradually to establish a point of view in morals, manners, and taste which people in our own day like to call, with something of a sneer, "Mid-Victorianism." The sneer is not wholly undeserved. People showed a repressed reticence toward life and its problems, which sprang, not from noble and pure morality, but from a fear of the honest and natural facing of facts. This dread of outspokenness showed itself in many ways. People dressed as if the human body were something which ought to be disguised by overabundance of clothes. They liked indiscriminate decoration, and bedecked their rooms with heavy carpets, thick hangings, and gloomy furniture. They dreaded freedom and ease in social relations and maintained that class distinctions ought to be rigidly upheld. They feared to meet social wretchedness and inequality; they contented themselves with repeating fine formulas about free competition, social necessity, and freedom of contract, while women and children slaved in cotton mills. They abandoned vigor, simplicity, and force in their art, and sought after prettiness, grace, and conventional beauty. They fought bitterly the introduction of new ideas in philosophy, science,

and religion, and appealed to every possible prejudice and tradition. Yet it must be said that in the midst of Mid-Victorianism were the seeds of new growth, and that the very rigidity of its conservatism strengthened the new movements which by the end of the century so profoundly changed the world.

Perhaps the most important innovation in social life was the introduction in 1840 of a modern post-office. Before this time the sending of a letter was expensive. Letters were not prepaid; the writer of a friendly message was burdening his friend with the cost. All sorts of evasions were practised. The franking privilege held by members of Parliament was grossly abused; poor people sent empty envelopes which their friends at home refused but which indicated that the sender was well. The smuggling of letters throve, because the postal authorities — in an endeavor to enforce rules concerning enclosures — were constantly breaking the seals of letters to examine their contents.

The principle of the modern postal-system — that the cost of a letter does not increase with distance if a large number of letters are handled — was set forth in 1837 by Rowland Hill. By constant agitation he at last succeeded in getting the government to establish uniform penny-postage with letters prepaid by stamps.

The literature of the period clearly reflected the eager interest in reform. Chief among the writers who felt the pathos of the suffering of the poor in these years, and the absurdities of the comfortable conservatives who fought reform movements, was Charles Dickens (1812–1870). He had known poverty and hardship as a child, and he had seen unvarnished human nature as a journalist and reporter in the House of Commons. His work began with sketches of London life which won

The Old Curiosity Shop, London

immediate attention; but his fame was made with the completion of *Pickwick Papers* in 1837, a masterpiece of farcical humor and shrewd satire on social life before the Reform Bill. Then followed a series of novels which made him the most famous novelist of his time, and which brought to the influential classes in England a realization of the wretchedness of the poor. Men and women laughed at his humor, but their laughter was followed by tears. In *Oliver Twist* he showed the ill-treatment of children in poorhouses and their exploitation by criminals. In *Nicholas Nickleby* he exposed the cruelty of the cheap, low-class boarding-schools where children were sent by parents and guardians who wished to be rid of them. In *Barnaby Rudge* he carried his readers back to the Gordon Riots of the eighteenth century; in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, to the crudeness and exuberance of frontier American life. In *The Old Curiosity Shop* he showed once more the pathos of childhood burdened with cares far beyond its strength.

William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863), the other great novelist of the Victorian period, took as his field the snobbery of wealthy society, the wretchedness of loveless marriage, the false glitter of social distinction. His special abhorrence was "people living without God in the world . . . greedy, pompous men, perfectly self-satisfied for the most part, and at ease about their superior virtue — " people whom he satirized in *Vanity Fair*, which gives a picture of English social life before and after the battle of Waterloo.

Among the lesser novelists of the period are Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855), her sister Emily (1818–1848), Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), Edward Bulwer — later Lord Lytton — (1803–1873), Charles Kingsley (1819–1875), and Frederick Marryat (1792–1848).

In *Jane Eyre* Charlotte Brontë astonished England with a new type of heroine, sturdy, self-reliant, without pretensions to beauty. *Jane Eyre* gives a picture of a child's life in public institutions of the period, of the stupidity and bigotry of administrators of charity, and of the severity of a typhus epidemic. The life of a governess in an English family is presented, with the addition of a romantic and sensational story, but with a true picture of the haughtiness of the rich toward social inferiors. *Wuthering Heights*, by Emily Brontë, shows bleak and half-savage life in remote districts of northern England, the harshness and brutality of a section which had always stood apart from the civilizing influences of the South.

Benjamin Disraeli, later a famous statesman, developed in *Coningsby* the novel of political life. To the story of the life of a young aristocrat he tied his ideas of the relation of Church and State, of parliamentary abuses, of the glories of the Jewish race, and of the way to invigorate a weakened aristocracy.

Edward Bulwer is best remembered for *The Last Days of Pompeii*, an historical novel of ancient Roman life. In his own day he was best known for *Pelham*, a picture of a new ideal of a gentleman who dresses without jewelry, wears a plain black evening-suit, and displays in speech and manner a carefully calculated cynicism.

In *Alton Locke* Charles Kingsley, a clergyman of the Church of England, gave a vivid and sympathetic picture of the sufferings which gave force to the Chartist agitation. Hunger, stifled ambition, industrial exploitation, cruelty, and hypocrisy stalk through these pages, which tell the baffled life of a young tailor who might in a land of free opportunity have led a cheerful life among happy and contented associates.

In the novels of Marryat the reader finds a little-developed field — the life of small seaport towns, the hard experience of a sailor in the Royal Navy, the outrages of press gangs, and the reckless exploits of smugglers. The English love of the sea, the rough, hardy, brutal life of sailors before the day of steamships, and the curtain of sentimentality which English writers have loved to draw over the realities of seafaring are nowhere better seen.

While novelists were using the conditions and the problems of contemporary life for their material and were enjoying a great and deserved popularity, the poets were living in a land of dreams. Tennyson, under the spell of Keats, was weaving his early poems of elaborate beauty and smooth sentiment; Browning, under the spell of Shelley, was still in the stage of intricate and incoherent expression, but showing promise of the strength and vitality that so brilliantly distinguished his later work. Wordsworth, the poet laureate, had done his best work long ago. It was the fashion for the public to bewail the death of poetry, on the eve of one of the greatest periods of poetic activity in English literary history.

Like the novel, the essay and other forms of prose flourished, largely because Macaulay and Carlyle reacted so definitely to the facts, the ideas, and the problems which filled men's minds.

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859) was a man of great energy and intellectual power with an immense fund of reading and of general information. He was devoted to the Whig party and to the cause of reform, and as a member of Parliament he spoke and voted for every liberal measure. These were the days when the governing class were men of education in the classics,

with a knowledge of and fondness for history rather than for science or business; when a speaker quoted Latin with some expectation of being understood, and when knowledge of the world's literature was considered a requisite to success in the world. Macaulay believed in progress, he believed in the principles of the Whig reformers, and he believed that in the years from 1832 to 1850 the country had made tremendous improvement. These ideas he set forth on every occasion, often with dazzling success. In his *History of England* (1685–1700) he emphasized the importance of social history as well as the record of battles and acts of Parliament, and he praised the Whigs and belittled the Tories. It was a great success because it was novel in treatment, because it was definite and interesting in style, and because it told people what they wanted to hear — that England was the best of all possible countries, and that England in 1848 was the best of all possible Englands.

Completely different from Macaulay was Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881). He was almost a reincarnation of a Hebrew prophet, uninterested in the polished amenities of society, frequently rough in his speech and in his writing, terribly in earnest, and terribly certain that complacent Whig satisfaction with progress was a denial of truth. He saw the shams and the sufferings of society, saw its selfishness and cruelty, its hypocrisy and its shallowness. In his conception, the cure for the world's woes lay not in legislation but in individual heart-searching, and above all in loyalty to a great man when a great man could be found. Work was the salvation of man: the leadership of great men the need of the world. In his writings he preached his doctrines often with great power and beauty, and often with a total disregard for clearness of diction and coherence of

phrasing. People could and did neglect his preaching in *Sartor Resartus*, *Heroes and Hero Worship*, and *Past and Present*, but the wide knowledge, the fiery imagination, and the picturesque detail of *The French Revolution* they could not neglect. It was not, however, until later that Carlyle received full recognition. Then men began to doubt the value of mere material achievement, and turned sympathetically to the burning words of the man who had doubted from the beginning.

2. 1848–1865

After 1848 the great reform-movement began to slacken. Reforming energy cannot last for more than a generation — times and men change, and a new generation rises to whom the conditions which called for reform are only history. Moreover, after 1848 the industrial expansion of the earlier years grew steadily, increasing the wealth of the country and reducing the abject poverty which had made reform an alternative to revolution. Railways increased at a tremendous rate; the telegraph came into common use; the coal industry grew with the railways; the manufacture of steel in large quantities and at a cheap rate was made possible by the inventions of Bessemer and Siemens. With the easy production of steel, modern industry became capable of higher development. Great improvements could be made in machinery, in the construction of buildings, in ships, and in railways. For a time Great Britain — because of her shipping, her geographical position, her possession of iron and coal in large quantities, and her immense manufactures of cotton, wool, and silk — became "the workshop of the world."

The advance thus made in manufactures and

intercommunication was advertised by the "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations," in 1851, inspired by Prince Albert, and held in London in a large building of iron and glass known as the Crystal Palace. More than six million people visited it and gained a new appreciation of the tremendous industrial changes which had taken place in two generations.

Coupled with industrial growth came steady advance in science. Thorough work began in the study of fossils as a detail of geology. The public became slowly aware of evidence which proved the existence of plants and animals of tremendous antiquity; the theory of glacial action was propounded; and geology became for the average man more than a mere study of strange stones. With all these discoveries came indisputable proof of the antiquity of man — the discovery of ancient flint implements and of human remains in conjunction with the bones of extinct animals.

Electricity still remained in the experimental state, but chemistry, and particularly the commercial manufacture of such chemical compounds as dyestuffs, developed rapidly. Photography was introduced by means of the daguerreotype, a photograph made on silver. But most immediately striking of all scientific advances of the time was the use of ether and chloroform as anæsthetics in surgery. This discovery is the greatest of all achievements in man's struggle to alleviate pain. From that time on, surgery made rapid progress.

Attention was drawn from the steady record of material progress by three notable events: the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, the Indian Mutiny in 1857, and the Civil War in America in 1861.

The Crimean War was caused by the expansion of England's interests in the East and by the growing dread

of Russian power. Allied with Turkey and France, England entered upon a winter campaign in the Crimea. It was one of the worst-managed campaigns in history. Without proper means of communition, without proper hospital facilities, without proper food, fuel, or clothing, thousands of soldiers were wantonly sacrificed to the follies of a stupid administration whose feeble capacity was entangled in red tape. When the news of the suffering of the soldiers reached England there was tremendous indignation, and supplies were hurried to the Crimea. Under the leadership of Florence Nightingale, the first woman to become a military nurse, efficient and sympathetic care was given to the sick and wounded. Nevertheless, forty per cent of the men who served in the winter of 1854–1855 lost their lives. It was in the Crimean War that the famous charge of the Light Brigade occurred.

Following the Crimean War came brief wars with Persia and China. But all English affairs in the East were overshadowed by the outbreak in India of a terrible mutiny of native troops. In itself any Indian uprising would have roused England; but the Mutiny was accompanied by massacres of English women and children. For a time it seemed as if English power in India were at an end, but the revolt was finally put down and the mutineers were relentlessly punished.

The American Civil War (1861–1865) caused a serious crisis in the cotton mills of northern England. The Union blockade of the southern ports of America prevented a supply of cotton from reaching the mills in England and in 1862 thousands of men were thrown out of employment. In that year half a million people were dependent upon charity. It was years before the trade recovered from the blow. Under these circumstances

it was hardly likely that strong English sympathy would be roused for the North. In addition the English aristocracy felt a certain contempt for the Northerners, whom they regarded as pushing and crude, and a certain liking for the Southerners, whom they regarded as men of culture and refinement. When a Northern warship took two Confederate envoys from a British vessel, feeling ran high, but fortunately the difficulty was smoothed over. After the war, trouble between England and the United States again arose over the damage inflicted by the Confederate warship Alabama, which had sailed from a British port; but the trouble was settled by arbitration.

During this period trade-unions began to make their influence felt. Workingmen were becoming more and more aware of the impossibility — without organization — of securing concessions from employers. From time to time employers warred against the unions, hoping vainly to bring workingmen into the unorganized state of earlier days; but the unions had come to stay. It was unfortunate that a state of warfare between employers and employees became a recognized condition in industry, with a firmly established tradition of antagonism and mistrust.

During this period there appeared the stimulating movement in art known as Pre-Raphaelitism. In the first half of the century English art was conventional and lifeless. Painters followed the example of those who had preceded them, instead of going directly to Nature for inspiration. About 1848 an enthusiastic group of painters formed an organization which they called the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, adopting sincerity and minute accuracy of detail as their artistic principles. The best known Pre-Raphaelites were Dante Gabriel

Rossetti, William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt, and — for a time — John Everett Millais. With youthful energy these men brought to English art freshness in design, an emphasis on allegory and symbolism in subject, and on imaginative conception. Their ideals of art were to some extent reflected in literature, especially since Rossetti and Morris were even better known as poets than as painters.

In many ways the most significant event of the years from 1848 to 1865 was the publication in 1859 by Charles Darwin (1809–1882) of *The Origin of Species.* This book brought to the attention of the public the theory of evolution, which — originally a theory of concern only to scientists — soon took possession of the popular mind and entered into every field of thought. No other scientific theory has exercised such influence or so definitely affected popular thinking.

The tremendous interest excited by the controversy over *The Origin of Species* has often confused the theory of evolution with what came to be called Darwinism. The theory itself is as old as the ancient Greeks, though as a really scientific theory it dates from the eighteenth century. Men have always tried to account for the tremendous number of different groups of animals, plants, and insects. Obviously there are only three ways to account for these differences: they came into existence of themselves, accidentally, without cause; or they were deliberately created by an intelligent Power outside the realm of nature; or they have descended by gradual changes one from the other. In the eighteenth century Linnæus, a Swedish botanist, showed by classification the enormous variety of plants; in the early nineteenth-century Cuvier, a French scientist, did similar work with animals. In the time of Linnæus men

accounted for the variety in nature by the belief that the world had been created in six actual days, and that the world was left on the seventh day with the stars and the oceans, the mountains and the rivers, the plants and the animals in practically the same number and form in which they now exist. Every different kind of created thing was regarded as having been specially and definitely created once and for all.

In the time of Cuvier, men influenced by scientific research, which proved beyond question that many kinds of living things had perished from the earth and that the earth's surface had undergone great changes, came to believe that in the world's history there had been long periods of quiet growth interrupted by tremendous cataclysms which utterly destroyed every living thing and profoundly altered the earth's surface. As many as twenty-seven such cataclysms were supposed to have shaken the earth.

While the "creationist" and the "cataclysmic" theories were dominating men's thoughts, two scientists — Lamarck, a French naturalist, and Lyell, an English geologist — were preparing the way for another explanation of the differences in nature. Lamarck maintained that the changes in living things were caused by growth and development, and that the transformation of kinds of animals had been due to the attempt of animals to adjust themselves to their environment. The theories of Lamarck were, however, overshadowed by those of Cuvier.

Lyell sharply differed from the cataclysmic theory of Cuvier and — believing that the world had had a complete and continuous history from a very ancient past — published in 1830, 1832, and 1833 his famous *Principles of Geology:* "An Attempt to explain the Former Changes

of the Earth's Surface, by reference to Causes now in Operation."

The work of Lyell attracted far more attention than did that of Lamarck, and prepared the way for the substitution of the theory of evolution, or gradual change, for the theory of special creation.

The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* made the acceptance of the theory of evolution almost inevitable. Darwin presented a mass of evidence which could not be disproved, showing that the living world has not always been as it is now; that it is possible to show the gradual development of one kind of plant or animal from another kind; and that every indication is that creation cannot be regarded as some act which took place once and for all, but that it is a continuous process, operating from the beginning of things and continuing in the present as in the past.

The theory of evolution, then, is not Darwinism. Darwin took the theory of evolution as it already existed, and presented a mass of evidence which made it impossible for scientists to doubt that it was the only logical explanation for the world as we find it.

But *The Origin of Species* went beyond the establishment of the theory of evolution, important as that was. In this book — as indicated by the full title, *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection; or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* — Darwin attempted to show how evolution worked; and it is this explanation of the method of evolution which constitutes Darwinism, as the term is now used. Practically all scientists believe in evolution; but many do not believe that Darwin's explanation of the method of evolution is correct.

Darwin's explanation, known as "natural selection,"

is, in brief, as follows: Nature always produces more plants and animals than can possibly survive. These plants and animals are engaged in an intense struggle for existence. In this struggle for existence only those best fitted to their environment will survive. In this "survival of the fittest," plants and animals will transmit to succeeding generations those qualities which enable them to meet the fierce struggle for life. "Fittest" in this sense does not mean worthiest from our point of view; it may mean strongest or most adaptable or fiercest or most resistant or most cunning. Darwin called his theory "natural selection" because he felt that Nature had accomplished naturally what plant- and animal-breeders had accomplished artificially — that is, the selection of certain favored individuals to carry on the race.

In this theory there are certain facts which are indisputable. Nobody doubts the fact of inheritance, because everybody has observed that children resemble parents or grandparents or uncles or aunts. Nobody doubts the fact of variation, because everybody has observed that no two persons ever resemble each other precisely in every detail. Nobody doubts that plants and animals must be adapted to their environment, because everybody has observed such facts as that corn cannot grow when its roots are drowned by pools caused by excessive rains, and that willow trees grow best when their roots are literally in water. Nobody doubts the struggle for existence or the survival of the fittest, because every one knows that of the thousands of seedlings which appear in a garden after the spring rains, comparatively few reach maturity even if undisturbed by the gardener. But what cannot be proved is that the millions of known kinds of living things have been produced by "natural selection."

The controversy which raged over Darwin's book was not originally concerned with scientific facts. People jumped to the conclusion that Darwin was attacking the Scriptures and — through them — religion itself. Influenced by uncritical accounts of the book, people who had never read it said that Darwin maintained that man was descended from monkeys, thereby stripping the human race of its position as the noblest of living species.

These charges against Darwinism have almost wholly died away. Most people are now ready to agree that there is no real conflict between science and religion, and that, indeed, religious ideas are broadened and ennobled by the ever increasing discoveries of science.

The literature of the Mid-Victorian years shows a breadth and permanence of interest and a power and intensity of expression which make this one of the most important periods in English literature.

The novels of Charles Dickens continued the literature of social reform, though Dickens — instead of making an attack on specific social and political abuses — centred his attention on traits of human character, often retaining some old social canker as an important part of the plot. In *Bleak House*, for example, the abuses of the Court of Chancery and the red tape of government are satirized. In *Hard Times* Dickens attacks the deadly ugliness of industrial society, and the failure of political economy to take into account the imaginative and spiritual cravings of men. In *Little Dorrit* he gives an unforgettable picture of the old Marshalsea Prison and the degradation of imprisonment for debt. *Great Expectations* is an echo of convict life and transportation.

Another novelist who made the exposure of social wrongs his chief interest was Charles Reade (1814–1884).

He energetically studied the various social questions of his day and collected a great amount of evidence upon which to base his stories. *It is Never Too Late to Mend* deals with prison administration, *Hard Cash* with lunatic asylums, and *Put Yourself in His Place* with labor unions.

Of perhaps greater permanent interest than the novels dealing with social problems are those which chronicle the thoughts, emotions, prejudices, ambitions, and customs of the people of the day, without regard to social institutions.

Foremost among such novels is a series which gives the most comprehensive picture which we have of the people who lived in fashionable society in the first half of the nineteenth century: Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, *Pendennis*, *The Newcomes*, and *The Adventures of Philip*. These novels present an incomparable gallery of portraits, ranging from the highest of the aristocracy to the lowest of the servants. They show the social life of the time in high places, its shams and its meannesses, and its dignity and its kindness as well. Thackeray hated hypocrisy and he loved goodness, faith, love, and self-sacrifice wherever he found them. His novels have not the dramatic energy and vividness of some works contemporary with his, but they have the greater interest which comes from a penetrating eye, a kindly heart, and a courageous intellect.

Another chronicler of the time was Anthony Trollope (1815–1882), whose series of novels, *The Warden*, *Barchester Towers*, *Doctor Thorne*, *Framley Parsonage*, and *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, give us the best picture obtainable of the life, personal and official, of clergymen in high and low positions in the Church of England, and of society in the cathedral towns.

From "The Amenities of Book-Collecting" by A. Edward Newton

CARICATURE OF TWO EMINENT VICTORIANS

George Eliot (who was Mary Ann Evans, 1819–1880) chronicled the life of English rural communities. But she added to her work something which had not affected Thackeray and Trollope, an interest in ethical and psychological problems of character. To her the greatest defeat in life was the gradual disintegration of the moral sense and the final downfall of character in the face of temptation — a theme clearly developed in *Romola*; the greatest victory, the overcoming of the forces of evil by the power of will. She brought to the novel the strong ethical purpose which was the chief characteristic of Victorian life at its best.

But the clearest expression of the ideals of Victorian religion, ethics, and morality is found not in novels, but in the poetry of Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), who in 1850 succeeded Wordsworth as poet laureate. In the years between 1847 and 1865 he published *In Memoriam*, *The Idylls of the King*, *Maud*, *The Princess*, and *Enoch Arden;* a group of poems which, taken as a whole, is thoroughly representative of the Victorian spirit. They show the Victorian seriousness, dignity, and morality. They show the Victorian sense of fantasy, romance, and sentiment. They show the Victorian formality and restrained interpretation of passion. And they show the Victorian idea of beauty, carefully smoothed, and carefully pruned of all that might offend well-bred people.

Of these poems *In Memoriam* is the most important, because it gives in calmly beautiful verse the religious position of the Victorians, a sureness of belief in God and in immortal life, a faith reached not by easy acceptance but by struggle, by searching of heart, and by the power of suffering. Only second in importance are the *Idylls of the King* — chastened and subdued versions of the Arthurian legends, freed from brutality and primitive

passion and carefully arranged to meet the Victorian ideal of a Christian hero.

The poems of Robert Browning (1812–1889) have never become so well known. The public of that day were not ready for the passionate romance of *Men and Women* and *Dramatis Personæ*. The obscurity and incoherence of Browning's language were distasteful to an age which admired elegance and refinement. His vigorous optimism, also, had to await the appreciation of later years.

The poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861) received much greater praise than her husband's. The quiet dignity of her love-poetry, the idealism and fiery sympathy of her poems of the Italian Revolution, and her generous indignation over the industrial exploitation of children deeply touched her contemporaries.

Quite different in tone were the poems of Arthur Hugh Clough and Matthew Arnold, who represent in their poetry the waning of religious faith and the sadness of unbelief.

In prose the place of Carlyle as preacher and critic of contemporary thought was taken by John Ruskin (1819–1900) and Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), both of whom warred valiantly against that materialism and lack of fineness of feeling which Arnold called Philistinism. But these writers were interested primarily in art and literature. Ruskin devoted his energies to preaching sincerity in art and architecture as opposed to conventionality, maintaining vigorously that true art was not mere beauty but the expression of true and noble ideals. Arnold aimed at spreading "culture," an appreciation of the best in literature without regard to personal, historical, and provincial prejudice. In the midst of satisfaction with material progress, he was the

apostle of "sweetness and light," and for many people the prophet of a finer and truer appreciation of literature.

The advance in every field of knowledge naturally led to an increase in miscellaneous prose literature. John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty* marks the establishment of liberalism as a kind of social and political creed. John Henry Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua* and his essays brought respect and affection for the man who in the previous generation had roused so bitter a controversy in the English Church. Herbert Spencer's works brought the study of social facts in line with scientific advance. Above all, there is noteworthy a striking interest in historical writing. The works of Macaulay, Carlyle, Grote, and Milman were widely read and stimulated interest in other times and other lands. This interest was also shown in the remarkable production of historical novels of the first importance, for example: Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities*, Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* and *The Virginians*, George Eliot's *Romola*, Kingsley's *Hypatia* and *Westward Ho!*, and Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth.*

3. 1865–1885

The period from 1865 to 1885 was a time of increasing material prosperity. The population of Great Britain and Ireland increased by five millions in twenty years. Wages rose, manufactures increased, and the building of railways continued. With the opening up of the great West of the United States after the Civil War, a new source of food-supply was gained for the world. Science continued its advance, especially in the field of electricity. Engineering made rapid strides, especially in the construction of machinery and in the building of bridges.

Improvement continued in sanitation and public health. With the foundation of the science of bacteriology, medicine and surgery were on the threshold of revolution. In 1867 a Reform Bill — long agitated — was finally carried through Parliament, giving the vote to about two thirds of the male population of England, and for the first time making the country a real democracy. Indeed, as one looks back upon these twenty years, one feels that they must have been a time of prosperity, happiness, and good-will.

Yet there were vexatious problems, bitter controversies, and wide unrest. The problem of Ireland gave continual trouble with no apparent solution. The great famine in the forties had ended the Irish controversy for a time, especially since large numbers of Irish people had emigrated to the United States. As the Irish in America became prosperous, however, they began to think of the Old Country, so that after 1862 aid and encouragement were given by Irish-Americans to Irish dreams of independence. During the whole twenty years a series of conspiracies, murders, and riots disturbed the peace of Great Britain. Various steps were taken to pacify Ireland, but Home Rule, the one thing which the Irish wanted, Parliament was not willing to grant.

An important domestic problem was the question of popular education, brought to a head in 1870 by the Elementary Education bill, designed to provide a sufficient number of elementary schools to educate the entire population. American readers, accustomed to a system of compulsory free education, can have little conception of educational conditions in England in the early nineteenth-century. There were then no elementary schools except a few maintained by private religious societies or by individuals for profit. The chil-

dren of the well-to-do were educated at home by governesses who were regarded rather as servants than as teachers. When boys of prosperous families reached the age of seven or eight they were sent away from home either to small private boarding schools or to one of the great "public schools," Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's, or Merchant Taylor's — schools that are not public in the American sense but are large, expensive boarding-schools, which, being endowed institutions, are not administered for profit like the "private" schools. Attendance there was practically limited to the aristocracy and the upper middle-class. In many English towns and cities there were endowed "grammar" schools which had been founded to teach Latin and Greek to the boys of the community.

Latin and Greek, often taught in a crude and elementary fashion, were almost the whole of education in such schools. Too often the boys were incidentally subjected by their comrades to cruelty which wrecked the health of some, made others brutal and vicious, and left the rest with memories of horror or of romance according to a boy's resistance to pain and evil influence. Yet there were at the head of the public schools men of great personal charm, wide learning, and true culture, whose personal influence over their pupils was often lifelong.[1] Most famous of schoolmasters was Dr. Arnold of Rugby, the father of Matthew Arnold.

Girls were either kept at home under governesses or were sent to what we should now call "finishing schools." Here they were taught a little more reading, writing, and arithmetic than had been taught them by governesses. Chief emphasis was placed upon the acquirement

[1] Cf. *Tom Brown's School Days*, by Thomas Hughes.

of elegant accomplishments, such as music and drawing, and upon correct carriage and deportment. It was not felt that girls of the upper classes needed further education, since they were destined for marriage and participation in the life of society.

For a few young men of wealth or for those who were destined for the Church there were the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. There education was at a low ebb. What a man learned, he learned because he was naturally eager for knowledge. The wide field of knowledge which is now covered in the curriculum of a university, the regular programmes of lectures and recitations, the huge laboratories and libraries, the encouragement given to every boy to secure a higher education — all these characteristics of modern college and university life were lacking in the early nineteenth-century.

The difficulty in providing sufficient schools was caused chiefly by the different religious bodies who were already in the field of education. They felt that their schools were in danger, and they felt, too, that the question of religious education could never be properly adjusted in institutions supported by the State. In spite of a very bitter controversy, however, State elementary schools were established by law, and a beginning was made of a modern system of elementary education for all.

Comparatively little could be done to change the "public" schools. The Duke of Wellington's famous remark, "The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton," illustrates the feeling of the upper classes toward their schools. Whatever their faults, they were held to be the training-ground of English virility and independence. To this day they remain exclusive in membership, highly conservative in curricula, and greatly revered by the average Englishman.

Real changes were, however, made in the universities. Their field of studies was widened, and their organization was improved. It became possible for others besides members of the Church of England to obtain degrees. In 1867 women were admitted to examinations in the University of London. In 1872 Girton College, Cambridge, was incorporated for the higher education of women, and in 1875 Newnham Hall — afterward Newnham College — Cambridge, also opened. Women could not receive degrees at either Oxford or Cambridge, though they had the advantage of university studies.

Wide unrest prevailed among workingmen and especially among agricultural laborers. As the country became richer, the standard of living rose and men began to be less easily satisfied with a mere cessation of the dread of starvation. They began to feel that a ten-hour working-day was too long, that they ought to have a greater share of the wealth which was pouring into the country, and that they ought to have more to say about the conditions under which they worked. With a growing desire to secure constructive improvement, — not merely to protest against abuses, — trade unions grew rapidly and began more and more to attract public interest. Though they continued to rouse antagonism from employers, they grew stronger and stronger, becoming more and more conservative and averse to new movements such as Socialism — which, after the publication in Germany in 1867 of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, became a world-wide movement.

Coincident with the growth of trade unions is the growth of coöperative stores. In 1844 twenty-eight weavers in Rochdale started a coöperative store with a capital of one pound each. In 1865 the coöperative stores had 5,326 members and an annual business of

£196,234. The essential element in the movement was management by the shareholders, and the division of all profits among members according to the amount of goods purchased.

Parliament continued to pass laws for the benefit of working people. Four Acts were passed providing for more rigid inspection of factories and workshops. An Act was passed to protect sailors from needless sacrifice of life on unseaworthy ships. In 1880 the Employers' Liability Act was passed to protect workmen from the dangers of machine-industry. A factory inspector said, "We fine a man heavily for employing females and children a few minutes' overtime; yet we allow him to blow up the same persons with impunity so far as the law is concerned." In the years from 1872 to 1876 two hundred and sixty-one factory-boiler explosions had been reported, three hundred and eight persons being killed and five hundred and thirty-five injured. The Liability Act, making employers responsible for compensation to employees injured while at work, made for greater precautions and for better safety-devices. Yet in 1914 a writer could state that "there are still 15,000 fatal accidents yearly in the United Kingdom." Machinery is not always a willing slave.

In the political life of the time the names of two English prime ministers stand out among the greatest of English statesmen: William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli, later Earl of Beaconsfield. Gladstone was the great leader of the Liberal Party, the group which succeeded the Whigs and represented the middle classes as well as those members of the nobility who believed in the extension of democratic principles. Gladstone was the finest representative of the Liberal Englishman of the nineteenth century. He was sincerely

eager for universal peace, justice, and international good-feeling. He was a giant in intellect, a man of great scholarship and wide intellectual interests, a magnificent orator, an example of the English qualities of fairness, love of freedom, love of fair play, tolerance, and dogged sincerity, at their noblest and best.

Disraeli was the leader of the Conservative Party, the group which succeeded the Tories and represented the Church, the aristocracy, and those Englishmen who believed in England as:

> A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown,
> Where Freedom slowly broadens down
> From precedent to precedent,

with a strong emphasis upon the glories of the past and the dangers of innovation. Yet it must be said that there was often little real difference between Conservatives and Liberals except in traditions, social affiliations, and family connections. On specific questions Conservatives and Liberals often disregarded party lines and voted with members of the opposite party. As a leader of the Conservatives, Disraeli became one of the foremost European statesmen. He was of Jewish birth, and though he was baptized and brought up as a Christian, he never lost his interest in the race from which he was descended. He was a successful novelist, a brilliant orator, and a skilful politician. He never secured the hold upon the affections of Englishmen that Gladstone did, because Englishmen never quite understood his imagination, his brilliance, or his incisive intellect.

Disraeli was a believer in the extension of the British Empire. Intensely interested in international politics, he gave England a commanding influence in European affairs and greatly strengthened the position of England

in the East. A brilliant imaginative stroke was his securing for Queen Victoria the title of Empress of India. He kept a watchful eye on the aggressions of Russia and Turkey, because he felt that with England's ownership of the Suez Canal — bought under his direction from the Khedive of Egypt — and her interests in India, Russia must at all costs be kept away from the Balkans. It was through his diplomacy that Turkey in Europe was saved, and that the Balkan States were arranged in the manner which to this day has been a source of international disturbance.

Meanwhile England had a series of colonial wars on her hands, in Afghanistan and South Africa, the result of her growing imperial power. But the public mind was becoming used to the imperial idea. The growth of Canada and of the colonies in Australia and New Zealand, and the constant acquisition of new possessions, were making England the head of the greatest empire which the world has known. The imperial movement meant expense and trouble, but it satisfied the ambition of resourceful and ambitious men, provided world markets for England's surplus products, and opened new sources of the raw materials without which modern industry starves.

In 1870 occurred an event of the greatest importance to the world's history: the establishment of the German Empire after the decisive defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War. At the time England looked on with interested neutrality. Englishmen could hardly be expected to know that the event was the first step in the imperial rivalry which was leading to the World War of 1914 and the transformation of Europe.

After 1874 a kind of agricultural revolution befell England. English farming had been hurt by severe

cattle-plagues which began in 1865, but in general agriculture prospered until the seventies, when the heavy importation of American food began. The competition of the American ranches was intensified by a series of bad harvests, and prices fell to a point where farming ceased to be profitable. The result was that English farming declined, that the agricultural population in large numbers drifted to the towns or emigrated, and that laborers who stayed in the country sank lower and lower in the social scale. As time went on England became predominantly a manufacturing country, more and more dependent upon her colonies and upon foreign countries for her food.

From 1875 to 1883 there was a crisis in trade which caused great suffering and disturbance. It was only one of many crises which occurred throughout the nineteenth century, which were repeated in the twentieth century, and which will probably continue while the organization of industry remains as it is. The crisis of 1875–1883, however, was so widespread and so paralyzing in its effect upon industry that it profoundly affected English life and thought.

Modern economic crises are not like those before the industrial revolution, caused by local conditions such as famine, war or pestilence. They seem to be caused by abundance of food and abundance of manufactured articles. A period of prosperity comes. Wages rise, factories boom, harvests are good, railways are built, foreign trade increases, everybody has money, labor is scarce, houses are built — and then suddenly comes a crisis. Prices fall, factories close, work is scarce, shipping lies idle, farmers are ruined, and nobody has money to buy the goods which lie piled in the warehouses. The causes of trade crises may be sharply debated by economists;

their effect is clear to everybody. In the midst of wealth there is bitter and grinding poverty; in the midst of abundance there is famine. Of one thing everybody is sure: that something ought to be done. After 1885 debate and action upon suggested remedies occupied the major part of English public life.

The years from 1865 to 1885 saw the end of the creative movement in literature which had reached its height in the mid-century. By 1885 Tennyson had done his best work, Browning had written all the poems which are of interest to the general reader, and Matthew Arnold had rounded out the group of poems whose resigned sadness made so great an appeal in the later years. The great age of the novel was over. By 1885 Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, Kingsley, the Brontës, Trollope, and Disraeli had died. In 1885 Carlyle was dead and Ruskin and Newman were old men. The work of Darwin, Mill, Grote and the other giants of the Victorian age in science, philosophy, and history had ended. But literature was by no means dead. New men were rising, new interests were appearing, and new forms were developing under the stimulus of modern life.

XIII

THE END OF THE CENTURY

1885–1914

In 1885 began a new generation which, stirred by rapid changes in social and intellectual life, came to look upon the past as decidedly old-fashioned. This generation felt the influence of Macaulay, Gladstone, Carlyle, Dickens, Darwin, Tennyson, Ruskin, and Thackeray, — indeed, in some cases, it knew these giants in their old age, — but it looked upon them as men of the past, whose thoughts and ideals were rapidly merging into history. It saw their power depart; it saw old political divisions disappear; it saw life profoundly changed. The new generation saw the growth of internationalism and the expansion of empire; the transformation of modern life by the wider use of electricity, by the motor-car and by the airplane, and by hundreds of new applications of scientific discovery and mechanical invention; the tremendous awakening of the social conscience, appalled at a sudden realization of the miseries of the poor; the new self-consciousness on the part of labor and of capital; the new emphasis placed upon bodily health and cleanliness; the gradual revolt of women against their dependent position; the widespread extension of the powers of government; the spread of ideas by schools, newspapers, magazines, and motion pictures; and the profound change in literature.

The fact of overwhelming importance for the new

generation was the growth of internationalism and the expansion of empires. After 1885 men began to realize that no nation could live by itself. More and more, countries were specializing in certain industries and looking to other countries for commodities which they themselves did not produce. Moreover, this interdependence concerned not luxuries, as in former times, but necessities. German dyes, English cloth, American steel, Russian platinum, Australian wool, South American hides, Swedish lumber — these and thousands of other manufactures and raw materials were the foundation, not of local business, but of world trade. Gradually commerce became dependent upon a free and constant flow of material from country to country. With the rise of electrical manufactures, modern dependence upon a free flow of material became more marked. An immense demand for copper, rubber, and cotton for the electrical trade gradually developed. With the coming of the motor car and its rapid deterioration of tires, an even greater importance was attached to cotton and rubber. A comparatively new business, the manufacture of gasoline, leaped into prominence, and the discovery of petroleum became more important than the discovery of gold.

To carry on the trade in these commodities international companies were organized; to transport them fleets of steamships were built; and to ensure a constant and steady supply new districts of Asia, Africa, and the Americas were explored, settled, developed, and brought under the sway of England, France, Germany, and the United States. Less highly developed countries felt the push of modern industry and began to stir restlessly, looking for extension and development. Russia pushed eastward to the Pacific, Japan pushed westward to the

mainland of Asia. Italy and Spain sought for territory in Africa, and the Balkan States, catching the fever of expansion, and bolstered up by European jealousies, looked enviously upon Turkey, and upon each other.

In itself, the tremendous commercial expansion of the great nations and the feverish search for industrial wealth might conceivably have made the world happier and more peaceable. With the spread of exploration, settlement, industry, and commerce, the world should have become a more friendly place in which to live. Unfortunately, however, there began after 1885 an unparalleled extension of military and naval power. The new wealth began to pay tribute in the shape of battleships which were obsolete a few years after they were completed. Millions of men wasted years in unproductive military training. Vast sums were spent upon war material, much of which was rendered useless with every new advance of science. The steady preparation for war was not without results. From 1885 to 1914 people lived in an atmosphere of tension.

Perhaps the dominating fact in causing international tension was the publication in 1887 of the treaty of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy. This treaty created a combination of Powers in Central Europe from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, isolating Russia on one side and France on the other. The natural result was the formation in 1892 of a Dual Alliance between Russia and France. In 1904 England concluded a treaty with France and in 1907 one with Russia. Thus was formed the grouping of Russia, France, and England into the Triple Entente. Germany now felt herself hemmed in by enemies, and crisis after crisis in European politics brought to men's minds the fear of a gigantic war involving all nations of the world.

For nearly thirty years there was peace in Europe. Yet in that time the world saw a large amount of fighting in the expansion of colonial empire in Africa and Asia, and four important wars. The first of these was the Spanish-American war in 1898, when the United States drove Spain from her West Indian possessions and from the Philippines. The second was the South African War in 1899, when the Boers, independent Dutch colonists of South Africa, were brought under English control. The third was the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, when Japan by a victory over Russia in Manchuria emerged into prominence as a World Power. In this war men saw, as they had never seen before, that modern warfare means immense armies, immense losses in killed and wounded, immense expenditure of money, and the mobilization of whole nations at home as well as in the field. The fourth war was in 1912, when the four Balkan states — Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece — made war upon Turkey, were completely successful, and then — together with Rumania — fell to fighting with one another over the division of the spoils.

By 1914, therefore, Europe was used to modern warfare, and every Power was ready with large armies, large navies, or both, developed for a generation at an almost inconceivable cost.

The result of this steady series of wars was a realization, among thoughtful men, of the necessity of doing something to preserve the peace of the world. Societies and institutions for the preservation of peace and for the establishment of international good-will began to appear; and an extensive literature grew up, revealing the harm done by war. Many writers demonstrated to their own satisfaction that a general war was a financial impossi-

bility, since it would wreck the intricate system of international trade and since it would ruin the nations which engaged in it. But their logic had little effect upon the ambitions of rulers, the cravings of large and small nations for aggrandizement, and the resistless demand of industry for greater and greater supplies of food, rubber, coal, iron, cotton, copper, and petroleum, and for wider and wider markets for manufactured articles.

The internationalizing of trade, the growth of empire, the shadow of war, and the ever increasing development of machinery could not come about quietly. Calm business development was an impossibility. As life became more complicated it became more open to disturbance. No wise power existed to equalize trade, to prevent speculation, to adjust conflicts of labor and capital, and to provide for an even distribution of the new wealth which was accumulating. The result was a continuance, in aggravated form, of the economic problems which had caused so much trouble since the industrial revolution.

The most striking indication of change was the awakening after 1885 of the social conscience to the fact that there existed in England — as in all industrial countries — a "submerged tenth," that is, a large group of the population who were overwhelmed in the struggle for existence, and who lived on the brink of starvation. Through a Parliamentary report and through the investigations of individuals people became aware of the prevalence of sweatshops in the clothing trade — that is, small shops beyond the control of factory inspectors, where groups, chiefly of foreigners, worked long hours for starvation wages making cheap clothing. The invention of the sewing machine and the presence of cheap

ignorant immigrant labor made possible a minute subdivision of the process of clothing-manufacture. Englishmen suddenly found themselves confronted with the picture of consumptive men, women, and children, huddled in unventilated rooms over sewing machines, stitching seams or sewing on buttons twelve or fourteen hours a day. The effect of the revelation of conditions in the London slums was to rouse philanthropic people to the recognition of the sore spots remaining in modern industry, and to make possible the passage of more laws for the improvement of conditions. The satisfaction of the preceding generation over the improvement which had taken place in industry during fifty years gave way to indignation at social injustice and the determination to help working people secure a better social organization. The new attitude may be seen in a speech by Frederic Harrison in 1885: —

> To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold: that ninety per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, nor so much as a room, that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind, except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss, brings them face to face with hunger or pauperism.

Taking such an attitude, men no longer felt satisfied with talking about the great progress which England had made, with repeating formulas about supply and demand and the survival of the fittest, or with exhorting men to save their money, avoid drunkenness, and try

to lead religious lives. Men began to feel that a reconstruction of society was necessary.

Consequently, when in the eighties there ensued a series of great strikes among low-paid laborers, public opinion favored the strikers, and through organization men and women gained higher wages, shorter hours, and some relief from the sweatshop. As strikes spread, however, and as taxes for public education, public recreation, and improved inspection of workshops became heavier, there was some reaction against the new power of the working class. By 1914 a tremendous advance in social conditions had been made. A third Reform Bill had given England universal male suffrage; a new Workmen's Compensation Act brought seven million working people under its provisions; a Trade-Disputes Act made labor unions able to carry on strikes without legal interference; an Old Age Pension Act provided pensions for poor men and women over seventy; a system of public employment-bureaus was established; boards for determining a legal minimum wage in "sweated" industries were set up; and heavy taxes were levied upon incomes and property to carry on the work of the State in alleviating poverty. The difference in industrial conditions between 1885 and 1914 means nothing short of a peaceful revolution, working so quietly that even those who had devoted their lives to awakening the social conscience hardly realized the extent of their success.

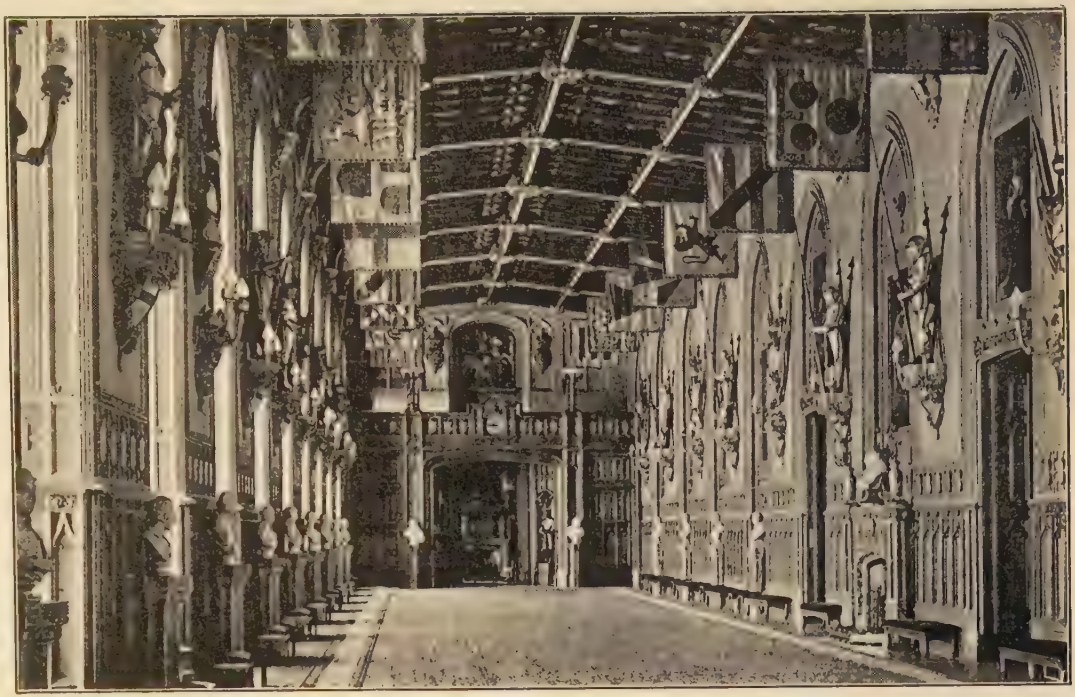
In spite of all the changes which took place in this generation, workingmen and social reformers were by no means satisfied. They felt that regulation of industry did not touch the real evils in modern life. Unemployment was still frequent, the cost of living continued to rise without a corresponding rise in wages, and workingmen did not share in the enormous increase in

wealth and luxury. The fact was that Englishmen were no longer willing to accept class distinctions and to believe that it was the duty of the working class to render quiet and faithful service to their superiors. The old ideals, traditional in England for centuries, of loyalty of servant to master and of willingness to "know one's place" began to disappear. The result was more aggressive action than ever before.

By 1914 three distinct movements were developing in English industrial life: those of the Labor Party, Socialism, and Syndicalism.

The Labor Party was composed of those "workers with hand and brain" who felt that wage-earners should actively unite, as a political body, to secure legislation which would equalize wealth, raise wages, and reduce the power of employers of labor and owners of capital. The Socialists were composed of those who believed that the present organization of industry was radically wrong, and that the State should own the "means of production" — land, factories, ships, mines, stores, and farms. The Syndicalists were composed of the relatively few who believed that neither Parliamentary legislation nor State ownership could accomplish anything, but that workingmen should unite, paralyze industry and government by strikes or violence, and seize for themselves, without ordinary processes of law, the means of producing wealth. Of these three groups the Labor Party was by far the most influential.

In the meantime, employers of labor and owners of capital were not idle. They steadily combated the new ideas by education and by publications. But their greatest power lay in the elimination of the small employer and the weak business man, and in the organization of business in large combinations. Though combi-



A Hall at Windsor Castle

nations of British capital never reached the size and power of the American "trusts," they became strong enough to fight the new movements with all their resources of money and influence. In their fight they were aided by the English dislike of the violence and the extravagant demands which often marked the activities of labor unions. In 1914, for all the new strength of the working classes and their sympathizers, the bulk of power undoubtedly rested with those who controlled manufactures, finance, and trade.

Coincident with changes in industrial life came a new and widespread interest in health and sanitation. After 1885 the theory that disease is caused by micro-organisms which prey upon the human body began to be well established in the popular mind. People began to understand the importance of personal cleanliness, of regular exercise, of clean streets, and clean food. Sanitation ceased to be a fad, and though in England it never has been given the importance which it has received in America, it became an integral part of community life. The great epidemics of such filth-diseases as typhus and cholera passed away, probably never to return.

One of the most striking movements of the period was the revolt of women from the dependent position which they had hitherto occupied in social, economic, and political life. Up to 1912 women in England had few legal rights. Husbands and fathers were regarded by law and custom as arbiters of the destiny of wives and daughters. It was expected that all women would marry, and marriage could be terminated only by an Act of Parliament. Power over a woman's children, her earnings, and, to a great extent, over her inherited property, was vested in the husband. The ideal woman of the Victorian period was submissive, beautiful, modest, accomplished,

retiring, religious, tender-hearted, a capable housekeeper, and a self-sacrificing mother. As a wife she offered to her husband unobtrusive devotion. In return she was supposed to receive the love and chivalrous service of her husband and sons, to whose superior judgment she would, of course, habitually defer. Women were supposed to be frail creatures whose fineness would suffer by any exercise more violent than walking or playing croquet or riding horseback on a sidesaddle. The Victorian ideal of womanhood did not, however, prevent the employment of women under disgraceful conditions, or the ill-treatment of women by brutal husbands of the lower classes. A cartoon in *Punch* puts the case with sufficient force:

ONE-HANDED JUSTICE

First Ruffian. "Wot was I hup for, and wot 'ave I got? Well, I floor'd a woman and took 'er watch, and I've got two years and a floggin'."

Second Ruffian. "Ha! *I* flung a woman out o' the top-floor winder; an' I've on'y three months!"

First Ruffian. "Ah, but then, *she was yer wife!*"

In the middle of the century began the movement for woman's right to be treated as a citizen and not as a child. This movement centred itself round suffrage as the emblem of free citizenship. Yet suffrage was the last privilege which women received. It was not won until women had gained legal rights to their personal liberty and their property, after they had taken an important part in English industry, and after they had completely emancipated themselves from the social ideal of timid and fragile creatures who would be lost in a man's world without the protection of a husband. Even then it would hardly have come so quickly but for the cataclysmic changes wrought by the World War.

Not the least of the changes which came over English life in the new generation was the spread of ideas by schools, newspapers, magazines, and motion pictures. Though England has never been so generous with money for teaching, equipment, and school buildings as has the United States, after 1885 she placed at least an elementary education within the reach of everyone. Technical schools were established later, and by 1914 a complete schooling was open to all who could take advantage of it. But newspapers, magazines, and — at the end of the period — motion pictures had an even greater effect than the schools in the spread of information. The result was not so much a change in the reading public as the creation of a new reading-public with a great popular literature of its own. The popular novel selling by the hundred thousand, the periodical of sensation, sentiment, or the commonplace, the newspaper which carefully combined thrills, edification, claptrap, and exhortation — such publications became the daily food of minds which had no interest whatever in the main stream of English literature.

Yet the spread of information and ideas also enlarged the public which was really interested in artistic literature. This generation saw the multiplication of cheap editions of the classics in quantities hitherto undreamed of. The increase in schools led directly to the wide development of the study of the English language and literature, a study which came to engage the attention of millions of people and thousands of teachers, making possible the exploration of the field of English literature from the earliest times, and enriching beyond calculation the mental content of thousands.

The result of the craving for new reading-material which developed in modern times led, of course, to an

end of privacy in personal or public concerns. It led to a breaking down of local customs and prejudices and to the standardizing of social customs and habits of life. Through the development of newspaper- and poster-advertising, and to a less extent through the motion picture, people in widely-separated communities came to dress alike, to eat the same foods, to think the same thoughts, and to read the same books.

Literature, as one of the fine arts, showed in this period the uncertainty which always seems to follow a period of great literary activity. It was so intent upon being different from what had gone before that it failed to develop any real greatness of its own.

After 1885 the Victorian writers, for a time, held their own. But soon the new generation began to feel that Tennyson lacked fire, energy, and charm, that Dickens and Thackeray were old-fashioned, and that Arnold was somewhat dreary. Of the Victorians, Robert Browning alone not only held his place but won more and more followers. The new generation admired his vigor and frankness of thought, his sturdy optimism, his penetrating analysis of character in moments of crisis, and his vividness of poetic expression. The willingness to read and to attempt to understand Browning became the touchstone of literary taste. In his poems youth saw mirrored its longing for a more vivid and strenuous life than its fathers had led.

The literature of the new generation clearly reflected the social and economic forces which were at work.

With the growth of internationalism came a new understanding and appreciation of foreign literature. However sharply divided the nations of the world might be in their political ambitions, the men of letters of all nations began to overleap the boundaries of nationalism.

The chief of the new international figures in literature was Henrik Ibsen, the Norwegian dramatist. About 1885 Englishmen began to realize that Ibsen was expressing better than any other living writer the new ideas of social questioning that were stirring their minds. *A Doll's House*, a drama whose theme was woman's longing for independence, set thinking minds afire. Ibsen's plays were rapidly translated into English, and because of their daring challenge of conventional ideas, their powerful dramatic quality, and their intensity of mood, they helped to free English drama from the domination of farce, pantomime, and melodrama.

The impetus of Ibsen's great vogue was helped by the influence of French drama. Men suddenly began to look upon the theatre no longer as a place for mere amusement, but as a kind of laboratory for earnest and thoughtful analysis of social life. The technique of the drama became a matter of intense concern. The old devices of soliloquy and aside, the old conventional characters, and the old plots in which coincidence rescued anybody from any kind of trouble, began to disappear. Tragedy and the serious discussion of serious matters reappeared in the plays of such a writer as Arthur Wing Pinero, especially in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*. Oscar Wilde, in *Lady Windermere's Fan* and in his delightful farce, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, showed that it was possible for plays to be popular and yet be brilliant in style, with an appeal chiefly to intellectuals. Leaning heavily upon Ibsen and upon a bitter satirist of his own time, — Samuel Butler, whose work was known to only a few readers, — George Bernard Shaw delighted and astonished the world with his incisive and mocking analyses of social shams and conventionalities. Such plays as *Man and Superman*, *Widowers'*

Houses, and *Candida* were not often acted, but they were read and discussed everywhere, and became a rallying ground for young intellectuals in Europe and America.

But the new intellectual influences were even more significant in fiction. Suddenly men discovered that Flaubert, Zola, and de Maupassant in France, Tolstoi and Turgenev in Russia, and Howells and James in America were developing a new movement in literature which came to be known as "realism." The term is hard to define, but it seemed to mean subtle delineation and analysis of character, careful attention to technique, minute description of setting, and, in the European writers, a preoccupation with sides of life over which the Victorians had drawn a veil. George Gissing's *New Grub Street* and George Moore's *Esther Waters* proved that "realistic" interpretations of English life could be written. Neither of these writers, however, had the power of Thomas Hardy, who combined an intimate knowledge of English life in the southwestern district — the Wessex of the Anglo-Saxons — with a penetrating knowledge of human nature and a thoroughgoing philosophy which held that mankind is only a plaything of fate. With *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, *The Return of the Native*, and *Far from the Madding Crowd* he set men's minds pondering more serious questions than had any of the novelists before his time.

Under these new international influences and under the influence of the new interest in democracy and in social reconstruction, the younger novelists after 1890 devoted themselves to analyses of English social life. The three most prominent novelists of the younger group were John Galsworthy, Arnold Bennett, and H. G. Wells.

John Galsworthy has given his closest attention to the

analysis of social classes in England. *The Country House* is a study of English country life dominated by the modern squire; *The Patrician* is a study of the English nobility in conflict with the mighty force of the new democracy; *Fraternity* is a study of social reformers of the middle class. His greatest novel is *The Forsyte Saga*, a reworking of several books — notably *The Man of Property* — into one novel giving the history of an English middle-class family which is dominated by the acquisition of wealth. His breadth of view, his intensity of analysis, and his power and beauty of style make Galsworthy one of the most important of the novelists of his time.

Arnold Bennett has devoted himself not to social analysis but to the delineation of English life in the Staffordshire district known as the Five Towns. His aim has been to express through fiction the breadth and scope of life in its everyday surroundings. His greatest novel, *The Old Wives' Tale*, is a middle-class epic of Victorian life, not only showing the commonplace happenings of every day, but also bringing out the permanent aspects of the virtues and the failings of Victorian life, so that the reader ends the novel thinking not so much of the characters about whom he has been reading as of their place in the eternally interesting drama of humanity.

H. G. Wells has been less a literary artist than an historian of the life of his own time. He has endless enthusiasm and inexhaustible vigor. With apparently great delight to himself, he has analyzed English life in the cities and small towns with special attention to politics, business, and education. He has had a great influence in making the general reader in England and America think about public questions in their human

relationships. *The New Machiavelli*, *Tono-Bungay*, and *Ann Veronica* will be among the most interesting sources for the historian of the future who attempts to analyze the temper and mood of the people of the end of the nineteenth century.

Realism and the analysis of social questions did not, however, have literature to themselves in this period. Two groups set themselves definitely against the dominating point of view of their time and sought to centre the attention of readers upon other things than social, political, and economic problems. These two groups were the æsthetes and the romancers.

At the centre of the æsthetic movement was an emphasis upon perfection of form and intensity of feeling. The younger adherents of the group were tired of Victorian respectability and were willing enough to shock the older generation. They felt that strength of ideas and moral purpose in literature had been overemphasized. They were intensely serious, but their seriousness was concerned with art and literature rather than with morality and social reform. "Art for Art's sake" was their cry; they believed that literature exists for its own sake, not to convey ideas about life. The clearest statement of their artistic beliefs occurs in the preface to Oscar Wilde's novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, with pronouncements like these:

> The artist is the creator of beautiful things.
> To reveal art and conceal the artist is art's aim.
> There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written, or badly written: that is all.
> All art is quite useless.

The æsthetic group did not produce literature which has — to any great degree — maintained its hold upon

public interest. But the æsthetes did succeed in making people realize that, after all, literature is one of the arts, and in keeping alive the quest for beauty in life and the appreciation of literature which, though it might have little reference to immediate social questions, was in itself worthy of thoughtful study.

Perhaps as a result of their influence, certainly as a result of a new appreciation of beauty and power in literature as qualities valuable in themselves, three writers whose work really belongs to the Victorian age began to secure recognition: Walter Pater (1839–1894), the essayist; George Meredith (1828–1909), the novelist; and Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909), the poet.

Walter Pater was a scholar and critic of exquisite sensitiveness and refinement. His essays on art and literature emphasized the value of the pursuit of beauty for its own sake, and the permanent pleasure which comes to the reader and author who devote themselves to art without regard for immediate fame. His most famous work is *Marius the Epicurean*, a study of a young man in the days of the Roman Empire, penetrating in analysis of pagan times and delicately beautiful in its chiseled style.

The novels of George Meredith, though he had published as early as 1856, had won little recognition because of their difficulty of style and their minuteness of psychological analysis. They were distinctly novels for the reader of taste and culture. In the nineties men became aware of their greatness, and *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* and *The Egoist* received wide attention.

The poetry of Algernon Charles Swinburne also received belated attention. *Poems and Ballads* had been violently assailed upon its publication in 1866. As time went on, however, Swinburne's fluid imagination, his

mastery of a bewildering variety of metrical forms, his advocacy of the unfortunate, and his denunciation of political tyranny made him — with Browning — the master of the younger generation. They chanted his rolling measures, reveled in the mazes of his poetic language, and hailed him as one of the greatest English poets.

The æsthetic reaction, both from Victorianism and from an exclusive attention to social criticism, showed itself in applied art as well as in literature. Under the magnetic leadership of William Morris (1834–1896), poet, author, and craftsman, who worked unceasingly for the realization of his dreams of a happy and beautiful world, there arose a demand for greater simplicity, dignity, honesty, and beauty in furniture, printing, clothing, and domestic architecture. The Arts and Crafts Movement was sometimes eccentric, but one realizes its good effects when one enters a house which is still crowded with the ugly and depressing furniture, draperies, and ornaments of the mid-Victorian period.

Akin to the æsthetic reaction was the growing interest in romance. A new spirit of adventure, mystery, and daring was growing up, an interest in exploits of far-off times and in the color and charm of distant lands. Four writers were specially prominent in fostering this new interest in romance: Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894), Maurice Hewlett, Rudyard Kipling, and Joseph Conrad.

In poetry, essay, novel, and short story Robert Louis Stevenson preached the doctrine of optimism and good cheer. Though he suffered all his days from bodily pain, life to him was a joyous adventure. And his writing was the result of his love for joyous adventure and of his hatred of cruelty and hypocrisy. "The desire for

knowledge, I had almost added the desire for meat," he says, "is not more deeply rooted than [the] demand for fit and striking incident." And so in *Treasure Island* we hear the tap-tap of the blind man's stick and hear the parrot's shrill "Pieces of eight"; in *Kidnapped* we crawl through the heather with death on every side; in *A Lodging for the Night* we talk with François Villon, prince of thieves; and in *The Sire de Maletroit's Door* we await the coming of the dawn that means love or death. In a busy world which was forgetting how gay life can be, Stevenson was a prophet with honor even in his own country.

Maurice Hewlett sought for romance in the days of chivalry and in the Italian Renaissance. The romance of love and of strange adventure in worlds unhampered by the trammels of reality made his work popular, so that from his novels and short stories grew an interest in far-off times which was responsible for scores of novels — perhaps as good as his, but deriving from them.

The stories and poems of Rudyard Kipling were more popular than the others because, in addition to the romance of remote lands and strange people, they had the atmosphere of reality, and because they glorified modern ideals of efficiency and military power. Kipling's stories gave the readers of the time what they wanted — information about strange lands and people, about new inventions, about new discoveries of strange states of mind, about war, and machinery. The craving for information which in the early twentieth-century made magazines of science, "educational pictures," and scientific lectures so popular, found satisfaction for hundreds of thousands of readers in the vivid and stirring tales of Kipling with their widely diversified appeal.

Joseph Conrad sought romance upon the sea and in the romantic islands of the Far East. The very titles of his novels indicate their glamour: *The Arrow of Gold*, *Youth*, *Typhoon*, *Lord Jim*, and *Victory*.

In all the literature of the time fidelity to actual experience, condensation of subject matter, and the search for novelty in treatment were distinguishing characteristics. As life became more and more crowded and hurried, as leisure disappeared, and as people no longer found time for quiet talk and reading, the short story written in a vivid and concrete style became the ruling form. The "quiet, still books" of older days became rare. The calm, reflective grace of Victorian literature seemed doomed in the rush and hurry of modern life.

XIV

OUR OWN TIME

In June, 1914 the heir to the Austrian throne, while on a visit to the province of Bosnia, was assassinated by a Serbian. The Austrian government asserted that the murder was the result of a conspiracy fostered by the Serbian government to extend the boundaries of Serbian territory. Austria demanded from Serbia, by way of reparation, abject submission which would have made Serbia in effect subject to Austria. The Serbians called upon Russia for aid. Austria then sought the help of Germany. As the complications threatened to involve all Europe, Russia called upon France to be ready to assist her.

By the end of July the full strength of the armies of the great European powers had been mobilized and several million men were under arms. On August first the tension had become too great, and Germany declared war on Russia and on France.

The motives of the governments that brought upon Europe the greatest disaster in history cannot easily be analyzed without prejudice. We are still too near those fatal days to understand them clearly and accurately.

It would seem, however, that Austria realized that — with the growth of the spirit of nationality and with the spread of democracy — her incoherent empire, made up of many diverse nationalities, was threatened; and that

a chance had come to crush an obstreperous nation many of whose people, violently nationalistic, lived within her boundaries. It would seem that the Emperor and the ruling class of Germany, intent upon the growth of the German Empire in material resources, in European influence, and in colonial possessions, felt that an unparalleled opportunity had come to strike a blow which, if successful, would make Germany the equal and possibly the superior of England in world-affairs. Perhaps, too, the German Government — which, after all, had existed only since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 — felt that it was really menaced by the alliance of Russia and France, and that if Austria were weakened, Germany would sometime be completely surrounded by enemies.

There is little doubt as to the position of Russia. Since the time of Peter the Great, the Tsars had aimed at territorial expansion and an open seaport. Russia saw, in defending Serbia, a chance at enlarged influence in the Balkans.

France unquestionably was moved by fear of German aggression, by the desire for revenge, and by the hope of regaining the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which she had lost during the Franco-Prussian War.

The desire for power, the fear of neighboring countries, inherited jealousies and suspicions, economic rivalries, land-hunger, the pressure of increasing population, and — in Russia and Germany — the hope that the patriotism roused by a war would take the attention of the masses from their often-expressed thoughts of social revolution — all these causes and many others less tangible and clear lay at the root of the Great War.

The position of England was not clear to anyone up to the last moment. Germany unquestionably expected

England to remain neutral. We now know that in the English Cabinet a strong group stood for "peace at any price" and might have kept England out of the war had not Germany at once invaded Belgium, whose neutrality she — with England — was bound by international treaty to respect. The invasion of Belgium brought England into the War on August 4, 1914.

The world then found itself in a situation which only a few men had ever visualized. Trade, foreign exchange, and travel were shattered. In Europe every able-bodied man was under arms. In Belgium hundreds of thousands of German soldiers were swarming upon an innocent and defenseless people. In East Prussia squadrons of Russian cavalry were swooping down upon German peasants, who had no more idea than the Belgians of the reason for this violation of their homes.

The talk of the world was all of war. With breathless interest men watched the German armies sweep through Belgium, demolishing supposedly impregnable forts with new gigantic guns; watched the heroic, if unavailing, resistance of the little Belgian army; and watched the retreat of the French army, reënforced by one small British detachment, back, always back, toward Paris.

From September fifth to tenth was fought the Battle of the Marne, one of the decisive battles of the world's history. The French and British turned upon the Germans, halted their advance, and drove them back to strong positions where they intrenched themselves. The march on Paris was over.

For the next two years the armies settled down to trench warfare. Millions of men lived in trenches and dugouts, subjected to furious bombardment, to surprise attacks and night raids, and to carefully planned battles

over a few hundred yards of ground, battles in each of which tens of thousands of men were killed.

In those two years the nations began to realize how terrible is modern warfare. War had become — not a conflict of armies, but a conflict of nations. Every available man was serving at the front, in the countless Government offices at home, or in munitions-factories. Every woman with sufficient strength was doing a man's work or was attending the wounded, often in positions of the greatest danger. Food and fuel became scarcer and scarcer, and fatigue, malnutrition, and nervous strain prepared the way for a world-epidemic of influenza.

Strange inventions and machines appeared. The Germans began the use of gas, a device which was rapidly adopted by the various armies. Aircraft developed rapidly, and thrilling battles were fought in the air. Great airships — the Zeppelins — appeared over London, raining bombs on the city. In these attacks hundreds of civilians were killed and wounded; much property was destroyed. The improved submarines of the German navy spread terror round the coasts of England and the Continent. Hundreds of merchant ships were sent, often without warning, to the bottom of the sea. Even passenger ships and hospital ships were attacked, the sinking of the liner Lusitania sending around the world a wave of feeling against Germany. New implements of warfare, — hand-grenades, high-explosive shells, powerful guns with enormous range, armored cars called "tanks," clubs and knives for trench raids, — all these taxed to the limit the capacity of the machine shops of the world. All the gold, credit, and time of the world were spent on war material which was rapidly destroyed.

Needless to say, every invention for destruction was

WESTMINSTER BRIDGE AND CLOCK TOWER OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON

met by a counter-invention. The terror at the use of gas passed as efficient gas-masks were developed. Though the submarine could not be driven from the sea, its ravages could be checked by depth-bombs and steel nets. The maze of trenches, at first so well protected by tangles of barbed wire that they were impregnable until they had been blasted into mud by high-explosive shells, yielded to powerful tanks, the armor of which was proof against a hail of machine-gun bullets. One of the most interesting devices was camouflage: the concealment of buildings, fortifications, and guns from spies in hostile aircraft, and the painting of ships in such a manner as to dazzle and deceive the lookouts and the gunners of German submarines.

Men's minds became crowded with stories of suffering. The cold winters and wet summers of the war years made life in the trenches a horror. Casualty lists piled up beyond all experience in previous wars. Civilians always lived in fear of starvation. Dreadful stories were told of the atrocities of the German soldiers, and a feeling of hate, intensified by the nerve-strain of a war which appeared to have no end, spread over the world. "Propaganda" became a popular word. It was discovered that the Germans had an elaborate system — not only of espionage but of propaganda carefully designed to influence public opinion. Soon everyone (not wholly without reason) saw German propaganda behind everything. The Allies, learning from the Germans, developed intensively the art of propaganda. The necessity for constantly raising great sums of money; the unrest as gold disappeared and paper took its place with a resulting inflation of wages, prices, and wealth; the constant threat of strikes among workmen; the constant fear of dissatisfaction on the part of soldiers;

the suffering which resulted from insufficient supplies of fuel, food, and clothing — all these facts demanded the widest possible belief in every nation of the justice of its own cause and the strongest possible attempt to undermine the courage of the enemy. "Morale," the spirit of zeal, hope, confidence, and willingness to obey one's superiors and coöperate with one's fellows, became of paramount importance; and to maintain morale every expedient of education, advertising, and the censorship and direction of the news was employed.

In 1916 the period of comparative inactivity ended with two tremendous battles: the attack by the Germans upon the French at Verdun, and the attack by the British against the Germans at the river Somme. Both battles — each of which lasted for months — were indecisive.

In April, 1917 the United States entered the war and began the mobilization of her gigantic resources for a fight to the finish. In 1917, also, the Russian army — which had lost millions in killed and wounded, which had been sadly mistreated by the Government, and which had been honeycombed by revolutionary propaganda — collapsed, and with a revolution in Russia, that country passed out of the war.

The entrance of the United States into the war meant not only that money, men, food, ships, and other essentials of modern warfare would be at the service of the Allies; it meant also that the great moral weight and prestige and, above all, the persuasive skill of President Woodrow Wilson were enlisted against the Central European Powers, which now included Turkey and Bulgaria with Germany and Austria. In a series of speeches President Wilson defined the war aims of the Allies as an attempt "to make the world safe for democracy," to

secure the freedom of the seas, to guarantee the rights of small nations, and to help the people of the German and Austrian empires to free themselves from their rulers who had beguiled them into a war of conquest. These statements were especially welcome to the English, whose government, nominally a monarchy, is actually a democracy; whose pride in the freedom of the seas while "Britannia rules the waves" is proverbial; and whose defense of the neutrality of Belgium brought them into the war. Embodied in the so-called Fourteen Points, these statements had a powerful effect upon public opinion, not only in the allied countries, but in Germany and Austria, where Wilson's "We have no quarrel with the German people" was especially influential upon a people whose morale was steadily weakening under almost complete isolation from the rest of the world.

In 1918 the Germans made one last desperate attempt to reach Paris. Once more began a great British and French retreat. On July 18, however, the Allied armies turned upon the Germans and drove them out of their positions into full retreat. On November 11, 1918 an armistice was signed. The greatest war in history was over.

The end came so abruptly that it found every country unprepared for peace. Suddenly the world, after four years of complete absorption in war, had to demobilize armies, restore trade, readjust industry, reorganize currency, and change completely its state of mind. The effort was too much; and though for a time there were rising prices and wages and a highly artificial prosperity, after the signing of the Versailles Treaty on June 28, 1919 with a provision for a League of Nations, trade and industry began to show signs of deflation. The

United States, contrary to the expectation of Europe, refused to ratify the Treaty or to enter the League of Nations, and repudiated the leadership of President Wilson. In 1920 came the crash; and for over a year the world's economic life was at a low ebb, with unemployment and destitution the inevitable result.

Meanwhile the Russian Revolution had established a Communist State, with a small party, the Bolshevists, in control. The existence of this Communist State and the establishment by the Communists of world-wide propaganda, combined with unsettled economic conditions, caused a very real fear of economic revolution. Great strikes occurred in England, and for a time it seemed as if a combination of coal-miners, railwaymen, and transport-workers would paralyze industry and dictate to the Government their own terms. The strikes were settled, however, by the firmness and tact of the Government and by the unwillingness of the middle classes to yield to the demands of labor. It now became clear that in the future the problems of social organization were economic rather than political. This was especially true since the two great political problems were settled by the granting of woman suffrage and by the settlement of the Irish question.

During the war the Irish question had become increasingly troublesome. The Sinn Fein Society, pledged to secure the establishment of Irish independence, kept Ireland in perpetual turmoil. Ireland was, moreover, divided within itself, since the Protestants who formed the majority in the North would have nothing to do with any government granted to the South. The question was finally settled by the establishment of the Irish Free State and the organization of a separate Government in the North of Ireland.

ENGLAND AND WALES
ENGLISH MILES.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Sites of Battles.
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
North Channel
Firth of Forth
Firth of Clyde
Solway Firth
Greenock
Glasgow
EDINBURGH
Dunbar
Paisley
BUTE
ARRAN
CANTIRE
Ayr
Berwick-upon-Tweed
HOLY I. OR LINDISFARNE
Tweed
Cheviot Hills
Aln
Coquet
NORTHUMBERLAND
Tyne
Dumfries
North Shields & Tynemouth
Newcastle
S.Shields
Sunderland & Wearmouth
Carlisle
Cumbrian
Cross Fell
Durham
Wear
Hartlepool
Belfast
Keswick
Shiddaw
Ulleswater
Tees
Whitby
St.Bees Hd.
Scaw Fell
WESTMORELAND
Helvellyn
Richmond
North York Moors
Scarborough
Windermere
Coniston
N.Allerton
I.OF MAN
Castletown
Douglas
Barrow
Ripon
Flamborough Hd.
Lancaster
Morecambe B.
Harrogate
York
Stamford Br.
Marston
Derwent
The Wolds
Beverley
Towton
Ouse
Aire
Ribble
Preston
Bradford
Leeds
Hull
Blackburn
Halifax
Wakefield
Rochdale
Calder
Huddersfield
Pontefract
Humber
Grimsby
Oldham
Doncaster
Manchester
Scrooby
Sheffield
LIVERPOOL
Birkenhead
The Peak
Mersey
Warrington
Chesterfield
Lincoln
ANGLESEY
Holyhead
Beaumaris
Gt.Ormes Hd.
Llandudno
Conway
Holywell
CHESHIRE
Bangor
Caernarvon
Buxton

MERIONETH
Barmouth
Oswestry
Heath
Stafford
Burton
Shrewsbury
The Wrekin
Leicester
Kings Lynn
NORFOLK
Norwich
Yarmouth
Cardigan B.
MONTGOMERY
Severn
SHROPSHIRE
Montgomery
Bridgenorth
Blinlimmon
Ludlow
Stourbridge
Lichfield
Bosworth
LEICESTER
Wolverhampton
Birmingham
Coventry
Naseby
WARWICK
Rugby
Huntingdon
HUNTINGDON
Peterborough
Ely
Ouse
Bury St.Edmunds
Newmarket
SUFFOLK
Ipswich
Stour
Harwich
Cambridge
Bedford
BEDFORD
Northampton
Banbury
Warwick
Worcester
Stratford
Evesham
WORCESTER
RADNOR
Mortimer
Cross
Leominster
Hereford
HEREFORD
Ross
Mamhern Hills
Severn
Tewkesbury
Edgehill
Cheltenham
Gloucester
GLOUCESTER
Oxford
Cirencester
Buckingham
BUCKINGHAM
Chiltern
Hills
St. Albans
Barnet
HERTFORD
Hertford
Colchester
The Naze
ESSEX
Harrow
Eton
MIDDLESEX
LONDON
Woolwich
Thames
Richmond
Croydon
Epsom
Kingston
Rochester
Margate
Chatham
Maidstone
Canterbury
Deal
Dover
Str. of Folkstone
Dover
C. Gris Nez & St.Leonards
Boulogne
R. Somme
Cardiff
Swansea
GLAMORGAN
Merthyr
Tydvil
Tredegar
MONMOUTH
Chepstow
Monmouth
BRECKNOCK
CAERMARTHEN
Caermarthen
PEMBROKE
St. Brides B.
Milford Haven
St. Georges Channel
Swansea B.
Bristol Channel
Berkeley
Cotswolds
Bristol
Avon
Bath
Weston
Mendip Hills
Sedgemoor
Bridgewater
Wells
Ilfracombe
Barnstaple B.
Exmoor
SOMERSET
Taunton
Devizes
Reading
Windsor
Basingstoke
WILTS
Stonehenge
HANTS
Salisbury
Winchester
Southampton
New Forest
Portsmouth
Chichester
South Downs
Lewes
Battle
Hastings
Pevensey
Brighton
Eastbourne
Beachy Hd.
Bognor
Selsey Bill
Cowes
Ryde
Newport
Ventnor
I. OF WIGHT
I. of Purbeck
I. of Portland & Portland Bill
Weymouth
Bournemouth
Dorchester
DORSET
Lyme Regis
Exeter
Otter
Exe
DEVON
Dartmoor
Teignmouth
Torquay
Torbay
Plymouth
Dartmouth
Truro
St. Ives B.
Penzance
Falmouth
Eddystone L.H.
Mounts Bay
Lands End
The Lizard
CORNWALL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Y. FRANCE
Kingston
Guildford
Reigate
Tunbridge Wells
SURREY
KENT
Stour
Wellan
Ouse
Cam
Wye
Cherwell
Avon
Stour
Lyme
Exmoor
Dartmoor
52
51
50
5
4
3
2
1
0
1
West Longitude
East Longitude
MATTHEWS NORTHRUP & CO., BUFFALO, N. Y.

By 1922 the strength, independence, and patriotism of the English had once more proved that — however great the crisis — England is strong enough to survive. Her recovery was due, in no small measure, to her policy, adopted in the nineteenth century, of allowing her Colonies complete self-government and of thus securing their loyal coöperation. But the England of 1922 was a very different country from the England of 1914. Hundreds of thousands of her strongest young men were dead; hundreds of thousands more were wounded. The mental and physical suffering of the war years told heavily upon the health of the nation. New social problems weighed heavily upon men's minds: the problem of housing the increasing population when building had been for several years at a standstill; the problem of the adjustment of women to the new position of responsibility and independence which they had assumed during the war; the problem of educating and guiding the youth of the nation who had during the war broken away from traditional restraints and conventionalities; the problem of a reinterpretation of religion; and above all, the problem of reëstablishing a balance in social classes which the shifting of wealth during the war had violently changed. New taxes, the rise in prices, and the shrinking of money-values threatened to put an end to old English county families who, for generations, had been firmly established upon their estates, and the sudden acquisition of wealth brought into social prominence families who, before 1914, would never have gained social recognition.

The calm, steady, well-regulated life of the old England disappeared with the war, and more and more American ideals of speed and efficiency in business and disregard for conventionality began to predominate.

What literature has come from the years of war reflects the strain and suffering of the time and the unsettled state of men's minds. It shows little respect for tradition; it avoids conventionality; it is experimental in form and in subject matter. Contemporary literature is interested primarily in the expression of the author's individuality; unlike the literature of the preceding period, it is not primarily concerned with moral problems. It is highly condensed, and profoundly interested in capturing immediate impressions of incident and mood. The literature of our time does not care for the traditional beauty of form and structure. Painstaking workmanship is far less in evidence than in the work of Tennyson or Arnold. Contemporary literature has removed the restrictions and taboos of certain subjects. But, above all, contemporary literature has changed its conception of the imaginative. In previous years artistic imagination still meant that which called to the mind a vision of beauty, or an emotion of profound importance to humanity, or an idea of ethical or religious significance. To-day imaginative literature is concerned with what is "interesting" — that is, with what is startling, novel, amusing, shocking, strange, unconventional, poignant, or bizarre. All these qualities are characteristic of literature in an age of transition.

Somewhat strangely, the most interesting literary development after 1914 was a revival of interest in poetry.

During the previous period poetry had been overshadowed by the novel, essay, and drama. Young poets had produced little that was original, preferring apparently to write under the influence of Swinburne, Tennyson, Wordsworth, and Keats. About 1914, however, a group of writers calling themselves "imagists"

published poetry so different in subject and in style from traditional English poetry that it shocked readers into attention. Vivid and concrete impression, crisp and striking imagery, disregard of rhyme and traditional metre, and concentration upon daring and unusual subjects — these qualities, united with a remarkable power of self-advertising, made the "new" poetry a matter of concern and interest to thousands of readers who had almost completely forgotten poetry as a contemporary art. The new poetry reflected every interest of the time, feeling that nothing was beyond its range. It came, too, at a moment when men's emotions were released in a flood by the stress of war; and it made itself, as numerous collections of war poetry show, the best vehicle for the expression of the mood of the time. At the end of the war it continued to hold the interest of readers, showing, however, a tendency away from the extravagance which had marked its first revolt, toward adherence to the forms of metre which have been traditionally associated with poetry.

Four men stand out prominently among the hundreds of poets who are making the new poetry: John Masefield, for his poems of the sea and of English country life; W. W. Gibson, for his sketches of humble English folk in mine, field, and factory; Rupert Brooke, — who was killed in the war, — for his romantic personality; and Alfred Noyes, for his reworking of traditional themes and traditional melodies in the light of modern life, and his constant opposition to the more extravagant aspects of the new movements in verse.

At the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, it is clear that the major influence upon literature is the new spirit of internationalism. Whatever national prejudices, jealousies, and antagonisms are roused, the

social backgrounds of English literature are no longer mainly English. The brotherhood of nations — the dream of centuries — may still be in the distance, but the community of nations and their interdependence is, acknowledged or not, a real and important fact.

APPENDIX I

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

I

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST

THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD

A. Old English pre-Christian Poetry

1. The epic of *Beowulf*
2. Lyric poems
   (a) *The Seafarer*
   (b) *The Wanderer*
3. Historical poems
   (a) *The Battle of Brunanburh*
   (b) *The Battle of Maldon*
4. Riddles and charms

B. Old English Christian Poetry

1. Poems connected with the name of Caedmon
   (a) *Genesis*
   (b) *Exodus*
2. Poems of Cynewulf
   (a) *Christ*
   (b) *Elene*
3. Poems composed under the influence of Cynewulf
   (a) *Phoenix*
   (b) *Judith*

C. Old English Prose

1. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (in Latin)
2. Alfred
   (a) Preface to *St. Gregory's Pastoral Care*
   (b) Translation of Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy*
3. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
4. Ælfric's *Homilies*
5. Wulfstan's *Homilies*

Important dates

449 Traditional date of first English invasion of Britain
476 Date usually set to signify the fall of the Roman empire

Early 6th century, Arthur, legendary Celtic king, defender of Britain against the Saxons
570–632 Mohammed
597 St. Augustine's mission to Kent
673–735 Bede
742–814 Charlemagne
787 Danish invasions of England began
849–901 ? Alfred
1000–1100 *Chanson de Roland*
1043–1066 King Edward the Confessor
1066 Battle of Hastings

II

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO CHAUCER

(1066–1340)

A. Romances

1. *Gawain and the Green Knight*
2. *Tristan and Iseult*
3. *King Horn*
4. *Havelok, the Dane*

B. Ballads

1. Robin Hood ballads
2. *Sir Patrick Spens*
3. *Chevy Chace*
4. *The Wife of Usher's Well*

C. Lyrics

1. *Alysoun*
2. *Cuckoo Song*

D. Religious and Historical Literature

1. *Ancren Riwle*
2. *Ormulum*
3. Layamon's *Brut*
4. *Cursor Mundi*
5. *Owl and Nightingale*

Important dates

1066 The Norman Conquest
1096 The first Crusade
1110 The first recorded miracle-play
1147 The second Crusade
1189 The third Crusade
1215 Magna Charta

1265 Dante, born
1304 Petrarch, born
1313 Boccaccio, born
1337 Beginning of the Hundred Years' War

III

THE AGE OF CHAUCER (1340–1400)

A. Poetry

1. Poems of Unknown Authorship *c.* 1350
   (a) *The Pearl*
   (b) *Cleanness*
   (c) *Patience*
2. John Gower's (*c.* 1325–1408) *Confessio Amantis*
3. *Piers Plowman:* formerly ascribed to William Langland, but now believed to be the work of some five different writers, 1362–1398
4. Geoffrey Chaucer (*c.* 1340–1400)
   (a) French Period
      Romaunt of the Rose
      Boke of the Duchess
   (b) Italian Period
      Troilus and Criseyde
      Parlement of Foules
      Hous of Fame
   (c) English Period
      Legende of Good Women
      Canterbury Tales

B. Prose

Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*
John Wyclif's *Versions* of the Bible

Important dates

1349, 1361, 1369 The Black Death
1362–1364 Parliament opened by English speeches
1381 Peasants' revolt

IV

FROM CHAUCER TO ELIZABETH (1400–1558)

The Followers of Chaucer

John Lydgate's (1370–*c.* 1451) *Falls of Princes* and *Troy Book*
Thomas Hoccleve's (*c.* 1370–1450) *The Regement of Princes*

Sir Thomas Malory's (*c.* 1430–*c.* 1470) *Le Morte d'Arthur*

William Caxton (*c.* 1422–1491)

Tudor Poets

Sir Thomas Wyatt (*c.* 1503–1542)
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (*c.* 1517–1547)
George Gascoigne (*c.* 1535–1577)

The English Humanists

Sir Thomas More (1478–1535)
History of Richard III
Utopia (in Latin)
Roger Ascham (1515–1568)
Toxophilus
The Scholemaster

Important dates

1415 Battle of Agincourt
c. 1450 Printing at Mainz
1453 Constantinople captured by the Turks
1455–1471 Wars of the Roses
c. 1475 *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, the first book printed in the English language
c. 1477 Caxton's edition of the *Canterbury Tales*
1492 Columbus discovered the West Indies
1516 More's *Utopia* (in Latin)
1517 Luther's theses at Wittenberg
1520 Death of Raphael
1525 Tindale's translation of the New Testament
1535–1539 Suppression of religious houses in England
1535 First complete English Bible (Coverdale)
1543 Death of Copernicus
1546 Death of Luther

V

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

A. Non-dramatic Poetry

Edmund Spenser (1552–1599)
The Shepherd's Calendar 1579
Amoretti and *Epithalamion* 1595
The Faery Queene 1590, 1596
Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586)
Astrophel and Stella 1591

William Shakespeare (1564–1616)
Venus and Adonis 1593
Rape of Lucrece 1594
Sonnets 1609
John Donne (1573–1631)
Poems by J. D. 1633

B. Prose

1. Voyages
   Richard Hakluyt's (1553–1616) *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* 1598–1600
2. Novels
   John Lyly's (1554?–1606) *Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit* 1579
   Sir Philip Sidney's (1554–1586) *Arcadia* 1590
   Thomas Lodge's (1558?–1625) *Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacie* 1590
3. Essays and Scientific Prose
   Francis Bacon (1561–1626)
   Essays 1597; 1612; 1625
   The Advancement of Knowledge 1605

C. The Drama

1. Before the Elizabethan Period
   (a) Religious and Didactic Drama
   Church plays — beginning in the tenth century as part of the Church service, particularly at Easter and Christmas
   Mystery plays — based upon the stories of the Bible. Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries
   Morality plays — dramatized allegories. Fifteenth and sixteenth centuries
   (b) The Drama of Transition
   1. Comedy
   Gammer Gurton's Needle (written) *c.* 1559
   Ralph Roister Doister c. 1552
   2. Tragedy
   Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex 1561
   3. History
   Bale's *Kynge Johan c.* 1548
2. The Predecessors of Shakespeare
   (a) John Lyly (1554?–1606)
   Campaspe 1584
   Endymion 1591

(b) Thomas Kyd (1558–1594)
The Spanish Tragedy performed *c.* 1586
(c) Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593)
Tamburlaine, performed 1587
Dr. Faustus " 1588
The Jew of Malta " 1589
Edward II " *c.* 1590
(d) Robert Greene (1560–1592)
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, written 1589
James IV, performed 1592
(e) George Peele (c. 1558–1598)
The Old Wives' Tale 1595
David and Bethsabe 1599

3. The Plays of Shakespeare

It has become customary to divide the work of Shakespeare into four groups, somewhat as follows:

(a) The period of early experiment (from about 1590 to about 1595)
Titus Andronicus
Henry VI (three parts)
Love's Labour's Lost
Comedy of Errors
Two Gentlemen of Verona
Richard III
Richard II
Taming of the Shrew

(b) The period of development (from about 1595 to about 1600)
King John
Romeo and Juliet
A Midsummer Night's Dream
Merchant of Venice
Henry IV (two parts)
Merry Wives of Windsor
Much Ado about Nothing
As You Like It
Henry V

(c) The period of maturity (from about 1600 to about 1607)
Twelfth Night
Julius Cæsar
Hamlet
Troilus and Cressida
All's Well That Ends Well
Measure for Measure

Othello
King Lear
Macbeth
Antony and Cleopatra
Timon of Athens
Coriolanus

(d) The period of later experiment (from about 1607 to 1611)
Pericles
Cymbeline
Winter's Tale
The Tempest
Henry VIII

4. The contemporaries of Shakespeare
(a) Ben Jonson (1573–1637)
Every Man in his Humour 1598
The Alchemist 1610
Sejanus 1603
The Masque of Queens 1609
(b) George Chapman (1559–1634)
Eastward Hoe 1605
The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois 1613
(c) Francis Beaumont (1584–1616) and John Fletcher (1579–1625)
Philaster, performed 1608
The Maid's Tragedy, performed 1609
The Knight of the Burning Pestle, performed 1610–11
(d) Thomas Dekker (*c.* 1570–1641)
The Shoemaker's Holiday 1600
Old Fortunatus 1600

By order of Parliament, the theatres were closed in 1642

Important dates

1564 Death of Michelangelo
1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew
1580 Sir Francis Drake returned to England after circumnavigating the globe
1587 Mary, Queen of Scots, executed
1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada
1599 Globe Theatre opened with *Henry V*
1605–1615 Cervantes' *Don Quixote*
1611 The Authorized Version of the Old and New Testaments
1616 Ben Jonson created Poet Laureate

1619 Harvey discovered circulation of the blood
1620 Sailing of the Mayflower
1618–1648 The Thirty Years' War
1623 First Folio of Shakespeare

VI

THE AGE OF MILTON (1625–1660)

A. Poetry

1. John Milton (1608–1674)
   On the Morning of Christ's Nativity, written 1629
   L'Allegro and *Il Perseroso*, written 1632
   Comus, acted 1634
   Lycidas 1637
   Sonnets
2. The Cavalier lyricists
   Thomas Carew (1595–1645?)
   Richard Lovelace (1618–1658)
   Sir John Suckling (1609–1642)
3. Religious mystics
   George Herbert (1593–1633)
   Richard Crashaw (1613–1650)
   Henry Vaughn (1622–1695)
4. Robert Herrick (1591–1674)
   Hesperides 1648
   Noble Numbers 1647

B. Prose

1. John Milton (1608–1674)
   The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce 1643
   Areopagitica: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing 1644
   Of Education 1644
2. Izaak Walton (1593–1683)
   The Compleat Angler 1653
3. Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682)
   Religio Medici 1642
   Urn Burial 1658

Important dates

1640 Meeting of the Long Parliament
1642 Outbreak of the Civil War
1649 Execution of Charles I

VII

THE RESTORATION (1660–1700)

A. Poetry

1. Samuel Butler's (1612–1680) *Hudibras* 1663
2. John Dryden (1631–1700)
   Annus Mirabilis 1667
   Absalom and Achitophel 1681
   The Hind and the Panther 1687
   Alexander's Feast 1697
3. John Milton (1608–1674)
   Paradise Lost 1667
   Paradise Regained 1671
   Samson Agonistes 1671

B. Prose

1. John Bunyan (1628–1688)
   Pilgrim's Progress 1678
   The Holy War 1682
2. John Dryden (1631–1700)
   Essay of Dramatic Poesy 1668
   Essay on Heroic Plays 1672
3. Samuel Pepys (1633–1703)
   Diary 1660–1669; published 1828
4. John Evelyn (1620–1706)
   Diary 1641–1706; published 1818

C. Drama

1. Heroic Plays
   Dryden's *Almanzor and Almahide, or the Conquest of Granada* 1670
   Nathaniel Lee's *Nero, Emperor of Rome* 1675
2. Tragedy
   Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved* 1682
   Dryden's *All for Love or The World Well Lost* 1678
3. Comedy of Manners
   William Congreve's *The Way of the World* 1700
   George Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem* 1707

Important dates

1660 The Restoration
1665 Plague of London
1666 Fire of London
1667 Molière's *Tartufe*

1668 La Fontaine's *Fables*
1688 The Revolution

VIII

THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(1700–1744)

A. Poetry

1. Alexander Pope (1688–1744)
   Essay on Criticism 1711
   The Rape of the Lock 1712–1714
   Translation of the Iliad 1715–1720
   The Dunciad 1728; 1729; 1742; 1743
2. James Thomson (1700–1748)
   The Seasons 1726–1730
   The Castle of Indolence 1748

B. Prose

1. Daniel Defoe (1661?–1731)
   The Shortest Way with the Dissenters 1702
   Robinson Crusoe 1719
2. Jonathan Swift (1667–1745)
   The Battle of the Books 1704
   The Tale of a Tub 1704
   A Modest Proposal 1729
   Travels of Lemuel Gulliver 1726
3. Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729)
   The Tatler 1709–1711
   The Spectator 1711–1712 and 1714
   The Guardian 1713

Important dates

1689 Toleration Act
1694 Bank of England established
1702 *The Daily Courant* (first daily paper) founded
1704 Battle of Blenheim
1706 Union with Scotland
1709 *The Tatler* begun
1711 Last number of the *Tatler*
1711 First number of the *Spectator*
1712 Last number of the *Spectator*
1715 Jacobite uprising
1720 South Sea Bubble
1721 Walpole, Prime Minister

IX

THE AGE OF JOHNSON (1744–1784)

A. Poetry

1. William Collins (1721–1759)
   Odes 1746
   Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands 1788
2. Thomas Gray (1716–1771)
   Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College 1747
   Ode on the Spring 1748
   Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard 1751
   Six Poems by T. Gray 1753
   Pindaric Odes 1757
   Poems 1768
3. Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774)
   The Traveler 1764
   The Deserted Village 1770
4. Thomas Percy (1729–1811) Edited *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* 1765
5. Thomas Chatterton (1752–1770): Poems alleged to have been written by "Thomas Rowley" 1777 and 1782

B. Prose

1. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784)
   Life of Savage 1744
   The Rambler 1750–1752
   Dictionary of the English Language 1755
   Lives of the Poets 1779–1781
   Taxation no Tyranny 1775
   Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland 1775
2. Edmund Burke (1729–1797)
   Our Ideas on the Sublime and Beautiful 1756
   Speech on Conciliation with America 1775
   Reflections on the Revolution in France 1790

C. The Novel

1. Samuel Richardson (1689–1761)
   Pamela 1740
   Clarissa; or, the History of a Young Lady 1748
   Sir Charles Grandison 1753
2. Henry Fielding (1707–1754)
   The Adventures of Joseph Andrews 1742
   Tom Jones; or, the History of a Foundling 1749
   Amelia 1752

3. Tobias Smollett (1721–1771)
   Roderick Random 1748
   Humphrey Clinker 1771
4. Laurence Sterne (1713–1768)
   Tristram Shandy 1759–1767
   Sentimental Journey through France and Italy 1768
5. Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* 1759
6. Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* 1764
7. Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* 1766

D. The Drama

1. Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774)
   The Good-natured Man 1768
   She Stoops to Conquer 1773
2. Richard Sheridan (1751–1816)
   The Rivals 1775
   The School for Scandal 1777

Important dates

1745 Jacobite rebellion
1750–1752 *The Rambler*
1752 The *New Style* Calendar was adopted in Great Britain from September 14, 1752. Eleven days (September 3–13) were omitted, to rectify the calendar. Henceforth the civil and legal year began, not on March 25, but on January 1.
1759 James Watt obtained the first patent for his steam engine
1764 Johnson's Literary Club founded
1765 The Stamp Act
1771 First edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*
1773 The Boston Tea Party
1776 American Declaration of Independence
1783 Peace of Versailles — United States formally independent

X

THE ROMANTIC PERIOD (1784–1832)

A. Poetry

1. William Cowper (1731–1800)
   Olney Hymns 1779
   The Task 1785
2. George Crabbe (1754–1832)
   The Village 1783
   The Parish Register 1807

3. William Blake (1757–1827)
   Poetical Sketches 1783
   Songs of Innocence 1787
   Songs of Experience 1794
   Milton 1804
4. Robert Burns (1759–1796)
   Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect 1786; 1787; 1793
   Songs in *The Scots' Musical Museum* 1787–1803
5. William Wordsworth (1770–1850)
   Lyrical Ballads 1798
   Poems 1807
   The Excursion 1814
   Collected Edition 1836
   The Prelude 1850
   The Recluse 1888
6. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834)
   From 1797 to 1802 wrote his chief poems, some of which were published with Wordsworth's in *Lyrical Ballads* 1798:
   The Ancient Mariner, Christabel, Kubla Khan, Dejection, an Ode
7. Robert Southey (1774–1843)
   Thalaba the Destroyer 1801
   The Vision of Judgment 1821
8. Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832)
   The Lay of the Last Minstrel 1805
   Marmion 1808
   The Lady of the Lake 1810
9. George Noel Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824)
   English Bards and Scotch Reviewers 1809
   Childe Harold 1812; 1816; 1818
   The Bride of Abydos 1813
   The Prisoner of Chillon 1816
   Manfred 1817
   Don Juan 1819; 1821; 1823
   Cain 1822
10. Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822)
    Queen Mab 1813
    Alastor 1816
    The Revolt of Islam 1818
    The Cenci 1819
    Prometheus Unbound 1820
    Epipsychidion 1821
    Adonais 1821
    Hellas 1822
    The Masque of Anarchy 1832
    The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley 1839

11. John Keats (1795–1821)
    Poems by John Keats 1817
    Endymion 1818
    Lamia, Isabella, etc. 1820
    Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats 1848

B. Prose

1. Charles Lamb (1775–1834)
    Tales founded on the Plays of Shakespeare 1807
    Specimens of English Dramatic Poets 1808
    Essays of Elia 1823
    Last Essays of Elia 1833
2. Walter Savage Landor (1775–1864)
    Imaginary Conversations 1824–1853
    Pentameron 1837
3. William Hazlitt (1778–1830)
    Characters of Shakespeare's Plays 1817
    Lectures on the English Poets 1818
4. Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859)
    Confessions of an English Opium Eater 1821
    Murder as One of the Fine Arts 1827

C. The Novel

1. Jane Austen (1775–1817)
    Sense and Sensibility 1811
    Pride and Prejudice 1813
    Mansfield Park 1814
    Emma 1816
    Northanger Abbey 1818
2. Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832)
    Waverley 1814
    Guy Mannering 1815
    Old Mortality 1816
    Ivanhoe 1820
    Kenilworth 1821
    Quentin Durward 1823
    The Talisman 1825

Important dates

1789 Fall of the Bastille
1793 The Reign of Terror
1793 War between England and France
1804 Napoleon became emperor
1808 Legalized slave-trade ended
1812 War with the United States
Imprisonment for debt abolished

1815 Battle of Waterloo
1819 "Manchester Massacre"
1829 Roman Catholic Emancipation
1832 The great Reform Bill

XI

THE VICTORIAN PERIOD (1832–1892)

A. Poetry

1. Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892)
   Poems by Two Brothers 1827
   Volumes of Poems 1830; 1832; 1842
   The Princess 1847; edition with the songs 1850
   In Memoriam 1850
   Maud and Other Poems 1855
   Idylls of the King 1859–1885
   Enoch Arden 1864
   Ballads and Other Poems 1880
   Tiresias and Other Poems 1885
   Locksley Hall Sixty Years After 1886
   Demeter and Other Poems 1889
   Plays: *Queen Mary* 1875; other plays 1876–1892
2. Robert Browning (1812–1889)
   Sordello 1840
   Bells and Pomegranates 1841–1846 including plays, *Dramatic Lyrics* and *Dramatic Romances*
   Christmas Eve and Easter Day 1850
   Men and Women 1855
   Dramatis Personæ 1864
   The Ring and the Book 1868–1869
   Various volumes of lyrics, dramatic monologues, and long narratives 1871–1887
   Asolando 1889
3. Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861)
   The Seraphim and Other Poems 1838
   Poems 1844
   Sonnets from the Portuguese 1847; 1850
   Aurora Leigh 1857
   Poems before Congress 1860
4. Matthew Arnold (1822–1888)
   The Strayed Reveller and Other Poems 1849
   Empedocles on Etna and Other Poems 1852
   Poems 1853
   Merope 1858
   New Poems 1867
   Poems 1869

5. Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882)
   Early Italian Poets 1861
   Poems 1870
   Ballads and Sonnets 1881
6. William Morris (1834–1896)
   The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems 1858
   The Earthly Paradise 1868–1870
   Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs 1876

B. Prose

1. Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881)
   Sartor Resartus 1833–1834
   The French Revolution 1837
   Heroes and Hero-Worship 1841
   Past and Present 1843
   History of Frederick the Great 1858–1865
2. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859)
   Essays 1828–1843
   History of England from the Accession of James II 1848–1861
3. John Henry Newman (1801–1890)
   Tracts for the Times 1833–1841
   The Idea of a University 1852
   Apologia pro vita sua 1864
4. John Ruskin (1819–1900)
   Modern Painters 1843–1860
   Seven Lamps of Architecture 1849
   Sesame and Lilies 1865
   Fors Clavigera 1871–1878
5. Matthew Arnold (1822–1888)
   Essays in Criticism, First Series 1865
   Culture and Anarchy 1869
   Essays in Criticism, Second Series 1888

C. The Novel

1. Charles Dickens (1812–1870)
   Pickwick Papers 1837
   Oliver Twist 1837–39
   Nicholas Nickleby 1838–39
   Dombey and Son 1846–48
   David Copperfield 1849–50
   A Tale of Two Cities 1859
   Great Expectations 1860–61
2. William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863)
   Vanity Fair 1847–48
   Pendennis 1848–50

Henry Esmond 1852
The Newcomes 1853

3. Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855)
Jane Eyre 1847
Shirley 1849

4. George Eliot (1819–1880)
Adam Bede 1859
The Mill on the Floss 1860
Silas Marner 1861
Romola 1863
Felix Holt, the Radical 1866
Middlemarch 1871–72

Important dates

1833 Factory Act
1834 Reform of the Poor Law
1837 Introduction of cheap postage
1845 Great Irish famine
1846 Repeal of the Corn Laws
1848 Collapse of the Chartist movement
1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition
1853–56 Crimean War
1857–58 Indian Mutiny
1861–65 American Civil War
1870–71 Franco-Prussian War
1886 Defeat of Gladstone's Irish Reform Bill

XII

THE END OF THE CENTURY (1892–1914)

A. Poetry

1. Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909)
Atalanta in Calydon 1865
Poems and Ballads 1866
Songs before Sunrise 1871
Poems and Ballads, Second Series 1878
Tristram of Lyonesse, and Other Poems 1882
Poems and Ballads, Third Series 1889
A Channel Passage and Other Poems 1904

2. William Ernest Henley (1849–1903)
In Hospital: Rhymes and Rhythms 1888
London Voluntaries 1893
Poems (collected) 1898

3. Rudyard Kipling (1865–
   Departmental Ditties 1886
   Barrack-Room Ballads 1892
   The Seven Seas 1896
   The Five Nations 1903
   Inclusive Verse 1919
4. William Watson (1858–
   The Prince's Quest 1880
   Collected Poems 1898
5. Francis Thompson (1860–1907)
   Poems 1893
   Sister Songs 1895
   New Poems 1897
6. Alfred Edward Housman (1859–
   A Shropshire Lad 1896
   Last Poems 1923
7. William Butler Yeats (1865–
   Collected Works 1908
   The Green Helmet and Other Poems 1910
8. Robert Bridges (1844– , Poet Laureate
   Poetical Works 1913

B. Prose

1. Walter Pater (1839–1894)
   Studies in the History of the Renaissance 1873
   Marius the Epicurean 1885
   Imaginary Portraits 1887
   Plato and Platonism 1893
2. Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894)
   Travels with a Donkey 1879
   Virginibus Puerisque 1881
   Familiar Studies of Men and Books 1882
3. Arthur Christopher Benson (1862–
   From a College Window 1906
   Beside Still Waters 1907
4. Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874–
   Heretics 1905
   Orthodoxy 1908

C. The Novel

1. George Meredith (1828–1909)
   The Ordeal of Richard Feverel 1859
   The Egoist 1879
   Diana of the Crossways 1885
   Lord Ormont and His Aminta 1894
2. William De Morgan (1839–1917)
   Joseph Vance 1906

Alice-for-Short 1907
It Never Can Happen Again 1909

3. Thomas Hardy (1840–
Far from the Madding Crowd 1874
The Return of the Native 1878
The Woodlanders 1887
Tess of the D'Urbervilles 1891
4. Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894)
Treasure Island 1883
Kidnapped 1886
The Master of Ballantrae 1889
5. Rudyard Kipling (1865–
Plain Tales from the Hills 1887
Life's Handicap 1890
The Jungle Book 1894
The Second Jungle Book 1895
Captains Courageous 1897
The Day's Work 1898
Puck of Pook's Hill 1906
6. Herbert G. Wells (1866–
The War of the Worlds 1898
Tono-Bungay 1909
The New Machiavelli 1911
Mr. Britling Sees It Through 1916
7. John Galsworthy (1867–
The Country House 1907
Fraternity 1909
The Patrician 1911
The Forsyte Saga 1922
8. Arnold Bennett (1867–
The Old Wives' Tale 1908
Clayhanger 1910
Hilda Lessways 1912
9. Joseph Conrad (1856–
The Nigger of the Narcissus 1897
Lord Jim 1900
Youth, and Other Tales 1902

D. Drama

1. Arthur Wing Pinero (1855–
The Second Mrs. Tanqueray, performed 1893
The Thunderbolt, performed 1908
2. Oscar Wilde (1856–1900)
Lady Windermere's Fan, performed 1892
A Woman of No Importance, performed 1893
The Importance of Being Earnest, performed 1895

3. George Bernard Shaw (1856–
   Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant, published 1898
   Man and Superman, published 1903
4. James Matthew Barrie (1860–
   Quality Street, performed 1903
   The Admirable Crichton, performed 1903
   Peter Pan, performed 1904
   What Every Woman Knows, performed 1908
5. John Galsworthy (1867–
   The Silver Box, performed 1906
   Justice, performed 1910
6. John Millington Synge (1871–1909)
   In the Shadow of the Glen 1903
   The Playboy of the Western World 1907
7. Isabelle Augusta Gregory (1852–
   The Rising of the Moon 1907
   Seven Short Plays 1910

XIII

OUR OWN TIME

A. Poetry

1. Rupert Brooke (1887–1915)
   Collected Poems 1915
2. Wilfrid Wilson Gibson (1878–
   Collected Poems 1917
   Hilltracks 1918
3. John Masefield (1874–
   Collected Poems 1918
   Reynard the Fox 1919
4. Alfred Noyes (1880–
   Collected Poems 1910

B. The Novel

1. Sheila Kaye-Smith
   Sussex Gorse 1916
   Tamarisk Town 1919
2. Archibald Marshall (1866–
   The Honour of the Clintons 1913
   Watermeads 1916
   The Hall and the Grange 1921
3. Hugh Walpole (1884–
   The Dark Forest 1916
   The Green Mirror 1918

APPENDIX II

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION

Chapter I

1. Legends concerning Lyonesse, one of the "lost counties" of England
2. The Celts, Picts, and Scots
3. English and American forests
4. The strategic position of the British Isles
5. English and American birds
6. English and American wild-flowers and trees
7. Poems which present typical English countrysides
8. The Fens
9. The Weald
10. King Arthur's country
11. Scottish clans and customs
12. Early life in the wilderness
13. Welsh names and terms in names of British towns
14. Welsh temperament
15. Scottish temperament, Highland and Lowland
16. Influences which determine the climate of the British Isles
17. Downs, moors, and combes
18. English hedges, their practical and poetic values
19. English forests in English literature
20. The Lake Region

Chapter II

1. The Druids
2. Britain before the Romans
3. Roman roads in Britain
4. Roman houses and public buildings in Britain
5. A boy at King Alfred's court
6. Saxon words in everyday speech
7. Saxon dress
8. Saxon agricultural implements
9. The government of the Saxons
10. Alfred as a statesman
11. The kingdom of the West Saxons
12. The work of the monk, Aidan
13. Danish ships
14. The Danes as fighting men

15. Canute, the Danish king of England
16. Scandinavian folktales of England
17. Scandinavian words in the English language
18. Gods and heroes of Norse mythology
19. Caedmon's miraculous gift
20. Anglo-Saxon ideals

Chapter III

1. Lancelot, the embodiment of the chivalric ideal
2. The history of the Holy Grail
3. The real and the legendary Arthur
4. Magic in the Middle Ages
5. Mediæval dress
6. A day in a mediæval castle
7. Ideals of chivalry
8. Mediæval warfare
9. Interesting details of mediæval castles
10. Robin Hood
11. The Children's Crusade
12. Richard Coeur de Lion
13. The Troubadours
14. The Magna Charta
15. Palmers and pilgrims
16. Saint Thomas à Becket
17. Jews in the Middle Ages
18. The influence of the Arabs on European civilization
19. Mediæval armor
20. Norman church architecture

Chapter IV

1. Wars of the Roses compared with the quarrels of the Capulets and the Montagues
2. Novels which deal with castle life
3. Romantic scenes of this period
4. Joan of Arc
5. Courts of this period and of our time
6. Mediæval Guilds and modern Unions
7. At the inn when the traveling players arrive
8. Comic figures in early mystery-plays
9. Reasons for Satan's popularity in early plays
10. Chaucer's value to England
11. The Black Plague
12. The laboring classes of the day
13. Wat Tyler and modern labor-agitators

14. Methods of warfare
15. Propaganda
16. The language of the people
17. Pilgrimages
18. John of Gaunt
19. Dress of the peasants
20. Household utensils

Chapter V

1. The Princes in the Tower
2. Henry VIII and the Catholic Church
3. The Reformation in Europe
4. Henry VIII as bluff King Hal
5. Petrarch's Laura
6. Italian and English sonnet-forms
7. England's part in the discovery of the New World
8. Henry Tudor as a shrewd statesman
9. Cardinal Wolsey
10. Hampton Court
11. A comparison of English and American universities
12. A comparison of entrance requirements in England and America
13. Laws concerning costumes in the fifteenth century
14. London in the fifteenth century
15. Mona Lisa
16. Leonardo da Vinci
17. Greek as the language of heresy
18. A mediæval university
19. Ideas from the *Utopia* which might be applied profitably to modern government
20. Ideas from Plato's *Republic* which would be valuable to-day

Chapter VI

1. Elizabeth as the expression of the period
2. Lady Jane Grey
3. Mary Stuart, her case and her wrongs
4. The pirates of the period
5. Sir Walter Raleigh, courtier and colonist
6. Sports of the Elizabethans
7. Books of the Elizabethans
8. The Fountain of Youth
9. The philosopher's stone
10. Terms which come to us from the alchemist and the astrologer
11. Spenser and Chaucer
12. Sir Philip Sidney

13. An Elizabethan performance at the theatre
14. Interludes
15. Elizabethan costumes
16. Shakespeare as Stratford's favorite son
17. Shakespeare's sonnets, their personal content
18. Court patronage of the drama
19. Financial status of an actor
20. The soliloquy in Shakespearean drama

Chapter VII

1. The Stuarts, their charm and their cynicism
2. The life of the court
3. The life of the country districts
4. Oliver Cromwell as his day saw him
5. The boy Milton
6. Life at Horton
7. Milton and Spenser
8. Milton's theology
9. The masques of Ben Jonson
10. Cavalier and Puritan poetry
11. Household furniture of the time
12. Puritan ideals of dress
13. Amusements of the period
14. The doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings
15. Charles I: his real service to England
16. Life in inns and country taverns
17. Oliver Cromwell's army
18. *Paradise Lost;* the great character-portrayals
19. Attitude of other countries toward the Revolution
20. State of art and architecture in this period

Chapter VIII

1. When Charles II returned to London
2. The repression of the Dissenters
3. The work of John Bunyan
4. Dryden's relations with the court
5. *Paradise Lost*
6. Titus Oates and the "Popish Plot"
7. The wars with Holland
8. England and America in the reign of Charles II
9. The Plague
10. The work of Christopher Wren
11. Sir Isaac Newton's discoveries
12. The Cabal

13. Army and navy life
14. Monmouth's invasion
15. The trial of the seven bishops
16. Manufactures in the time of Charles II
17. The Royal Society
18. Samuel Pepys and his diary
19. Dryden's *Fables*
20. *Hudibras*

Chapter IX

1. Eighteenth-century newspapers
2. Eighteenth-century sports
3. Eighteenth-century gardens
4. The theatre of the period
5. Queen Anne houses
6. *The Rape of the Lock* and its picture of English society
7. Marlborough
8. The South Sea Bubble
9. Steele as a reformer of society
10. Addison's place in politics
11. Translations of Homer in the eighteenth century and later
12. A day with a country lady of the period
13. Horace Walpole
14. The Bank of England
15. The Toleration Act
16. Food of the period
17. Fashionable watering-places
18. The position and education of women
19. Famous coffee-houses
20. The National Debt

Chapter X

1. Eighteenth-century furniture
2. The Royal Academy
3. Gainsborough and Reynolds
4. Devices, such as letter writing, which modern novelists continue to borrow from the novelists of this period
5. *Pilgrim's Progress, The Faery Queene,* The *Divina Commedia*
6. Dr. Johnson as an amusing figure
7. Lady Mary Montagu
8. Boxing in the eighteenth century
9. A boys' school of the period
10. Novels by later writers which deal with this period
11. Garrick and his Shakespearean productions

12. Goldsmith's wardrobes
13. London Bridge in the eighteenth century
14. Johnson and the Thrales
15. Fanny Burney's diary
16. Boswell's real place in the Johnsonian circle
17. A day spent with an eighteenth-century beau
18. Servants of the period
19. Bonny Prince Charlie
20. Household conveniences of the period

Chapter XI

1. The East India Company
2. The spinning wheel and its development into modern machinery
3. Cotton manufactures in England to-day
4. The causes of the French Revolution
5. The importance of the French Revolution for the modern world
6. Contemporary English views on the French Revolution
7. Reasons for Napoleon's success
8. Reasons for Napoleon's downfall
9. The fall of the Bastille
10. The War of 1812
11. The Duke of Wellington
12. Nelson
13. The first railroad
14. Jane Austen's pictures of English life
15. The Lake poets
16. Contemporary estimates of the *Lyrical Ballads*
17. Godwin and his circle
18. Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin and "women's rights"
19. Children's books edited by the Godwins
20. The emancipation of slaves in England and in America

Chapter XII

1. Factory legislation
2. The postal system of England
3. Exhibitions
4. Prison reform
5. The advance of science in the nineteenth century
6. The Oxford Movement
7. Victorian furniture
8. The Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood
9. William Morris as writer, artist, craftsman, and reformer
10. A Victorian governess
11. Victorian education for girls; views on "the higher education"

12. Disraeli as a statesman
13. The Suez Canal
14. Expansion of the British Empire
15. Victorian magazines
16. The advance in surgery
17. Florence Nightingale
18. Contemporary criticisms of evolution
19. Dr. Arnold of Rugby
20. The Franco-Prussian War; English views on the war

Chapter XIII

1. The development of the motor-car
2. The Labor Party in England
3. The Socialist Party in England
4. The militant suffragists
5. The Board schools of England
6. The drama of Ibsen
7. The æsthetic movement
8. The theatre of the time
9. Gilbert and Sullivan operas
10. The rise of the motion picture
11. Growth of the English navy
12. The Boer War
13. Social workers and the settlement house
14. The modern newspaper
15. The development of advertising
16. The influence of Tolstoi in England
17. The Arts and Crafts movement
18. Cecil Rhodes
19. Growth of Germany's world trade; "made in Germany"
20. Prominence of German scholarship

Chapter XIV

1. The development of the airplane
2. The Zeppelin raids on London
3. Lord Kitchener
4. The Dardanelles campaign
5. David Lloyd George
6. The English raid on Zeebrugge
7. The shortage of food in England; food rationing
8. The blockade of Germany
9. The Kerensky government in Russia
10. The Cathedral of Rheims
11. War inventions

12. Sir Roger Casement
13. British colonial possessions during the war
14. Liberty bonds and Victory bonds
15. The Treaty of Versailles
16. The League of Nations
17. The decline of the value of the English pound sterling
18. Labor troubles after the war
19. Woman suffrage
20. The Irish Free State

APPENDIX III

THE RULERS OF ENGLAND AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST

RULERS OF ENGLAND

The Norman kings

William I, 1066–1087
William II, called William Rufus, his son, 1087–1100
Henry I, third son of William I, 1100–1135
Stephen, son of Adela, daughter of William I, 1135–1154

The Angevin or Plantagenet kings

Henry II, son of Matilda, daughter of Henry I, 1154–1189
Richard I, son of Henry II, 1189–1199
John, son of Henry II, 1199–1216
Henry III, son of John, 1216–1272
Edward I, son of Henry III, 1272–1307
Edward II, son of Edward I, 1307–1327
Edward III, son of Edward II, 1327–1377
Richard II, son of Edward, the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III, 1377–1399

The House of Lancaster

Henry IV, son of John of Gaunt, and grandson of Edward III, 1399–1413
Henry V, son of Henry IV, 1413–1422
Henry VI, son of Henry V, 1422–1461

The House of York

Edward IV, son of Richard, Duke of York, a direct descendant, on both his mother's and his father's side, of Edward III, 1461–1483
Edward V, son of Edward IV, who, in 1483, was probably murdered in the Tower of London by his uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester (who usurped the throne as Richard III)
Richard III, 1483–1485

The Tudors

Henry VII, descendant on his mother's side from Edward III, through John of Gaunt, 1485–1509
Henry VIII, son of Henry VII, 1509–1547
Edward VI, son of Henry VIII, 1547–1553

Mary, daughter of Henry VIII, 1553–1558
Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII, 1558–1603

The Stuarts

James I, who had been James VI of Scotland, son of Mary, Queen of Scots, and a direct descendant of Henry VII through the elder sister of Henry VIII, 1603–1625
Charles I, son of James I, 1625–1649
From 1649–1660 the Parliament, first under Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector, and then under his son Richard, ruled England
Charles II, son of Charles I, 1660–1685
James II, son of Charles I, 1685–1688
Mary, daughter of James II, and her husband, William of Orange, ruled jointly, 1688–1694
William III, husband of Mary, 1694–1702
Anne, daughter of James II, 1702–1714

The House of Hanover

George I, son of Sophia, electress of Hanover, great-grandson of James I, 1714–1727
George II, son of George I, 1727–1760
George III, grandson of George II, 1760–1820
George IV, son of George III, 1820–1830
William IV, son of George III, 1830–1837
Victoria, granddaughter of George III, through his son Edward, Duke of Kent, 1837–1901
Edward VII, son of Victoria, 1901–1910
George V, son of Edward VII, 1910–

The House of Windsor

During the World War the name of the ruling family was changed to "The House of Windsor."

APPENDIX IV

A LIST OF AUTHORITIES

A LIST OF AUTHORITIES

A. General works

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Cheyney, E. P., *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*
" " " *A Short History of England*
Cross, A. L., *A History of England and Greater Britain*
Fordham, M., *A Short History of English Rural Life*
Gibbins, H. deB., *The Industrial History of England*
Godfrey, E., (pseud.), *English Children in the Olden Time*
Green, J. R., *A History of the English People:* 4 vols.
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Tickner, F. W., *A Social and Industrial History of England*
Tout, T. F., *An Advanced History of Great Britain*
Traill, H. D., *Social England:* 6 vols.

B. Works on Special Periods

I Geographical Backgrounds

Herbertson, A. J. and Howarth, O. J. R., *The British Isles:* vol. 1 of the *Oxford Survey of the British Empire*
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II From the Beginning to the Norman Conquest

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Green, J. R., *The Making of England*
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Holmes, T., *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar*
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Oman, C., *England before the Norman Conquest*

III From the Norman Conquest to Chaucer

Barnard, F. P., *Companion to English History (Middle Ages)*
Davis, H. W. C., *England under the Normans and Angevins*
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IV The Age of Chaucer

Jusserand, J. J., *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*
Trevelyan, G. M., *England in the Age of Wycliffe*
Kittredge, G. L., *Chaucer and His Poetry*
Dunn-Pattison, R. P., *The Black Prince*
Snell, F. J., *The Customs of Old England*
Vickers, K. H., *England in the Later Middle Ages*
Heath, S., *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages*

V From Chaucer to Elizabeth

Green, Mrs. J. R., *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*
Denton, W., *England in the Fifteenth Century*
Abram, A., *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages*
Hulme, E. M., *The Renaissance*
Adams, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*
Pollard, A. F., *Henry VIII*
Vickers, K. H., *England in the Later Middle Ages*
Innes, A. D., *England under the Tudors*

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Schelling, F. E., *The Queen's Progress*
Stephenson, H. T., *The Elizabethan People*
" " " *Shakespeare's London*
Warner, Charles Dudley, *The People for Whom Shakespeare Wrote*

VII The Stuarts and the Commonwealth

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" " " *Home Life under the Stuarts*

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Defoe, D., *Journal of the Plague Year*
Sydney, W. C., *Social Life in England*, 1660–1690
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ASHTON, J., *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*
ADAMS, W. H. D., *Good Queen Anne:* 2 vols.
TREVELYAN, G. M., *England under the Stuarts*
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X The Age of Johnson

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SEELEY, J. R., *The Expansion of England*
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SYDNEY W. C., *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*

XI The Transition to Modern life

TREVELYAN, G. O., *The American Revolution*
ROBERTSON, C. G., *England under the Hanoverians*
MARRIOTT, J. A. R., *England since Waterloo*
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USHER, A. P., *The Industrial History of England*
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M'CARTHY J., *The Epoch of Reform*
" " *History of Our Own Times:* vols. I, II, III
PAUL, H., *History of Modern England:* 5 vols.
MARRIOTT, J. A. R., *England since Waterloo*
BESANT, W., *Fifty Years Ago*
OGG, F. A., *Economic Development of Modern Europe*
WARD, T. H., *The Reign of Queen Victoria:* 2 vols.
STRACHEY, L., *Queen Victoria*
LEE, S., *Queen Victoria*
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XIII The End of the Century

ALDEN, P., *Democratic England*
M'CARTHY, J., *A History of Our Own Times:* vols. IV and V
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XIV Our Own Time

DAWSON, W. R. editor, *After-War Problems* by the Earl of Cromer and others
POLLARD, A. F., *A Short History of the Great War*

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